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24 APRIL 1987

# Sub-Saharan Africa Report

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24 APRIL 1987

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BENIN

COOPERATION AGREEMENTS SIGNED WITH MAURITANIA

AB011622 Cotonou Domestic Service in French 1930 GMT 31 Mar 87

[Text] This afternoon, Beninese and Mauritanian officials held talks at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation. Comrade Guy Landry Hazoume, the minister of foreign affairs, and Mohamed Lemine Ould N'Diayane, his Mauritanian counterparty, signed two agreements on cooperation.

The first document was related to a cooperation agreement in technical, economic, social, and cultural fields between the People's Republic of Benin and the Islamic Republic of Mauritania.

As you can see, it is a global agreement which provides for a multifarious cooperation. This multifarious cooperation is detailed in a document that was signed to set up a joint commission for cooperation between Mauritania and Benin.

The joint commission will meet every 2 years in ordinary sessions alternately in Benin and in Mauritania and in extraordinary sessions upon the request of one of the signatory parties and with the consent of the other.

It is therefore through the signing of these documents on cooperation that the Beninese and Mauritanian ministers for foreign affairs and cooperation committed their two countries to implement a policy for a more active and more efficient cooperation.

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CSO: 3400/480

GHANA

MILITARY 'EXERCISE FULL IMPACT' ENDS

AB291029 Accra Domestic Service in English 0600 GMT 29 Mar 87

[Text] The 10-day military operation codenamed "Exercise Full Impact" has ended at the Akyease Jungle Warfare Training School. The exercise, which involved 18 officers and 420 men, was carried out in two phases. It was aimed at strengthening the troops in physical endurance, combat techniques, tactical maneuvers and navigational and communication capabilities. The force commander, Major General Arnold Quainoo and Brigadier Mensah-woode, both members of the PNDC, were at the closing ceremony. Others included infantry and service commanders.

The acting officer commanding the Akyease Jungle Warfare Training School, Major David Quarshie, briefed the top military officers about the conduct of the exercise. In the interservice formation competition, some of the units undertook exercises in target observation, (?discharging) distance and fire control orders. Exercises were also held to show how fractures and snakebites could be treated at the battlefield. The units also demonstrated their ability to use radio communication to locate the position of missing compatriots during combat. Brig Mensah-woode, Commodore Ohene Kwapong, and the deputy commandant of the Staff College, Colonel D. P. C. de Morgan presented prizes to winning units.

In his closing address, the chief of naval staff, Commodore Ben Ohene Kwapong, said "Exercise Full Impact" was designed to enable military commanders to assess individual and group performances with a view to distilling team spirit and discipline among them. He admitted that economic and logistic constraints are posing problems to military exercise, however, he assured the troops of the efforts being made by the government to arrest the situation.

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CSO: 3400/479

GHANA

RADIO COMMENTARY HAILS PLANNED STOCK EXCHANGE

AB291750 Accra Domestic Service in English 1300 GMT 29 Mar 87

[Commentary by Walter Dzokoto]

[Text] At long last, Ghana is to have a stock exchange. Plans for its establishment started as far back as 1961 when Section 280 of the companies' code, Act 179, laid down the mode of establishing the exchange. Since then a number of committees have been set up to examine the viability or otherwise of the stock exchange and make recommendations.

In this connection, government delegations visited a number of countries with stock markets to study their systems and mode of operations. This was also to help in formulating appropriate rules and regulations for the proposed Accra stock exchange. But all these preparations have had to be stopped because of political and economic reasons. With the launching of the economic recovery program, however, the need to mobilize all domestic capital has become more urgent than before. It is common knowledge that about 60 percent of the country's domestic savings is outside the banking system. Savings mobilization for development and expansion of industries is thus placed in serious jeopardy. And considering the fact that external grants and loans are now difficult to come by, one cannot continue relying on external resources for any meaningful growth and development.

It is against this background that the idea of the establishment of a stock exchange is being welcomed. It will be a big relief to industrialists who are seeking funds to develop and expand their businesses. Further, it will create a market for the exchange of shares and other securities. It will also encourage people to invest in shares and make share certificates acceptable as security for loans. The practice of directors or chief executives parading the corridors of commercial banks in search of funds would be brought to an end because, with the necessary government guarantee on stocks and their eventual floating, adequate funds can be raised to carry out the viable projects.

A word of caution is worth sounding here to ensure that the proposed market is not [word indistinct] to stagnation. The interest of the general public, especially business and farming communities, has to be aroused to effectively participate in the markets.

Because most shares and stockholders seem to be somewhat satisfied with the current returns on their investments, they will therefore be hesitant to risk their bonds and other securities into a new venture without the assurance of safety and continuity. It is, accordingly, expected that the proposed Accra stock exchange would be devoid of undue government intervention and stock and shares would be adequately made available through brokers to ensure a smooth, efficient and with free operations of the markets. [sentence as heard] When these and other equally important measures are given due consideration, the nation will not only make some capital gains, but will release enormous capital for further investment to accelerate the industrial development of the country and expand employment opportunities.

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CSO: 3400/479

LIBERIA

MONROVIA TEACHERS SITUATION UPDATED

Vow Strike Over Back Pay

AB271748 London BBC World Service in English 1615 GMT 27 Mar 87

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] For the past year, Liberia's teachers and students in the state schools have been getting more and more militant. The teachers in particular are demanding a number of changes in the way schools are being run and the payment of substantial salary arrears. They have been on strike and in spite of threats of tough action by the authorities, they have dug in their heels and have said they'll stay away from classes until their demands are met. From Monrovia Isaac Bantu cabled this report.

[Begin recording] At an emergency meeting held yesterday at the G. W. Gibson Junior High School campus in Monrovia, the teachers, who are members of the MCSS [Monrovia Consolidated School System] Teachers Association, resolved to remain absolute in their stance until all of their problems are satisfactorily addressed. They vowed that: No radio or newspaper pronouncement by anyone will carry us back to classes. The teachers are demanding among other things the payment of 2 months salary arrears, improved teaching facilities, and incentives for students. They also demand that due to growing overcrowding at the Monrovia Central High School, the school be relocated from its present building to J. F. K. Maternity Center. The statement also warned government of the potential reoccurrence of another 18 March type of student uprising if nothing is done to reopen schools this year.

Similar demands, including one to government to meet salary arrears, led to a nationwide teachers strike last year. As a result, students throughout the country staged a nationwide demonstration in support of teachers.

The vice president of the National Teachers Association of Liberia, Moses Ba, told me that even though the MCSS Teachers Association was suspended 2 months ago from the national association for not meeting its obligations, they are doing everything possible to bring the situation under control, otherwise it would spread throughout the country. A meeting is scheduled to be held with the MCSS Teachers Association this afternoon at the headquarters of the National Teachers Association head offices. [end recording]

Reportedly To Be Paid 'Next Week'

AB272200 Monrovia Radio ELWA in English 2000 GMT 27 Mar 87

[Text] According to a release issued tonight by the National Teachers' Association of Liberia, NTAL, the organization has reportedly been informed that the disbursement of January checks will begin next week. The release quotes the executive committee of the association as saying, while negotiations are going on with Education Ministry officials for suitable conditions of service, all teachers are requested to continue normal duties.

Refuse to Return to Classes

AB310747 London BBC World Service in English 1709 GMT 30 Mar 87

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] Today is the day the teachers in Monrovia were supposed to go back to classes. They work in the Monrovia Consolidated School System, MCSS. Last week, the teachers said they were not picking up their chalk again until arrears of pay have been dealt with and other demands met. The minister of education appealed to them to return and some concessions were made but it seems they did not go far enough. From Monrovia, Isaac Bantu cabled this report.

[Begin recording] Teachers in Monrovia today ignored the minister of education's appeal. They have not gone back to school and maintained they would not until their January and February salaries have been paid in full. This decision was taken by the MCSS Teachers' Association at a meeting over the weekend. The teachers have been demanding, among other things, a new building for the Monrovia Central High School, improved teaching materials, (?halfway) transport, and of course, payment of salary arrears.

At the weekend meeting, the chairman of the Teachers' Association, Mr (Kessely Baniaba), told the hundreds of teachers who were there that some progress had been made in talks with the education minister. Apparently, the minister of education assured the teachers that a new building for the Monrovia Central High School would be constructed shortly and that steps would be taken to provide better teaching materials. On the issue of salaries, he said that the ministry would start paying January salaries as from today and he urged the teachers to return to classes.

But the teachers rejected their minister's appeal, claiming that they had been deceived in the past with similar diplomacy and insisted that the 2 months' salary arrears should be paid immediately. [end recording]

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CSO: 3400/475

LIBERIA

AGREEMENT SIGNED TO STRENGTHEN BANKING SYSTEM

AB312256 Monrovia Radio ELWA in English 2000 GMT 31 Mar 87

[Text] A memorandum of understanding to restore confidence in the Liberian banking system has been signed between the government and commercial banks in the country. Outgoing Finance Minister Robert Tubman and former National Bank of Liberia, NBL, Governor John Bestman signed on behalf of the Liberian Government, while the heads of the various commercial banks in the country signed on behalf of their institutions. Under the agreement, the Interbank Clearing House Arrangement will be revived to facilitate greater use of checks by deposit holders and the flow of currency into the banking system in the country.

The agreement also called for the drawing down on the excess reserves of the banks with the National Bank so as to liquidate them within a specific period. Under the agreement, the indebtedness of government to the NBL will be reduced in accordance with the schedule of repayments. According to the agreement, government will allocate \$8 million in local currency beginning this fiscal year to the banks to reduce the excess balances of the banks with the NBL. The government will also repay outstanding domestic loans and those nonsyndicated [word indistinct] loans not covered by the London Club that certain banks may elect to have repaid in Liberian currency.

The government will make budgetary allocations to reduce the outstanding balance of their medium-term loans to the NBL by transferring to the NBL every month, beginning this July, an amount of up to \$500 million [sum as heard] in Liberian currency.

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CSO: 3400/476

LIBERIA

BRIEFS

MINISTERS DISMISSED FOR EMBEZZLEMENT--Two deputy ministers have been fired from the Ministry of Internal Affairs by President Samuel Kanyon Doe for embezzlement. They are deputy minister of administration, John Temba, and deputy minister for operations, Vanny Homes. LINA [Liberian National News Agency] quoted an Executive Mansion press release as saying that the men were relieved as a result of an investigation which revealed that the two were involved in the embezzlement of nearly a quarter of a million dollars of government funds. Mr Homes and Mr Temba have meanwhile been turned over to the Justice Ministry for prosecution. [Text] [Monrovia Radio ELWA in English 1200 GMT 5 Apr 87] /9599

CSO: 3400/476

MOZAMBIQUE

PRIME MINISTER LEAVES FOR GENEVA AID CONFERENCE

Appeals for Aid at Talks

MB311653 Maputo Domestic Service in Portuguese 1400 GMT 31 Mar 87

[Text] Mozambican Prime Minister Mario Machungo has expressed his belief that the delegations attending the international donor conference being held in Geneva will know how to respond to the appeal made by the UN Secretary General aimed at supporting our country in view of drought and the criminal actions by the armed bandits. Addressing the opening session of the Geneva conference, Mario Machungo gave an account of the situation in Mozambique since the launching of the Rhodesian aggression up to the terrorist war which is being waged against us by the South African regime through the armed bandits, including the grave effects of the drought. Prime Minister Machungo then remarked that over 4.5 million people need immediate aid either because they have lost all their property and abandoned their residential areas due to armed bandit action, or because they (?lack water) as a result of the drought afflicting the country over the past few years.

In order to cope with this situation, the Mozambican Government once again appeals to the international community to provide material aid, said the prime minister. In his speech, which was delivered in English Mario Machungo added that the emergency aid program to Mozambique comes at a time when our government has embarked on an economic rehabilitation program which, he stressed, is designed to stop the decline in economic activity and to re-activate production, as well as to correct financial imbalances.

Cites RSA Military, Economic Aggression

MB012007 Dakar PANA in English 1630 GMT 1 Apr 87

[Text] Geneva, 1 Apr (AIM/PANA)---Mozambican Prime Minister Mario Machungo has refuted suggestions that the conflict in Mozambique can be described as a civil war.

Speaking in an interview in Geneva with Suisse Romande television, Mr Machungo said; We do not have a civil war in Mozambique. What we have is a situation of destabilization and aggression waged by the South African racist regime.

The prime minister also spoke of Mozambique's military cooperation with Zimbabwe and Tanzania, the purpose of which, he said, was to defend Mozambican sovereignty and to ensure peace and stability in the region.

Machungo pointed out that South Africa's aggression against Mozambique also took economic forms. South Africa, he said, has imposed economic sanctions against Mozambique in the fields of labour and rail transport.

South African sanctions began shortly after Mozambique's independence in 1975, he continued. At that time there were about 120,000 Mozambican migrant workers on the South African gold and coal mines. That number has been cut back by Pretoria to about 60,000, and is set to be halved again, to 30,000, he said.

Machungo also pointed to the sharp decline in South African use of the Port of Maputo. Before independence more than six million tonnes of South African traffic was handled by the port per year. The figure has now fallen to less than one million tonnes.

South Africa is not interested in promoting cooperation. Instead, it clung to the hope of creating a constellation of states that would be obedient to its will, he said.

Machungo headed the Mozambican delegation to Tuesday's donors conference in Geneva, called by United Nations Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar, to mobilise emergency assistance for Mozambique. Aid totalling 207 million U.S. dollars was pledged at the conference.

#### Returns Home

MB040602 Maputo Domestic Service in Portuguese 0500 GMT 4 Apr 87

[Text] Mario Machungo, head of the Mozambican Government, returned home today from Geneva where he had participated in the international conference for humanitarian assistance to Mozambique. Aid for Mozambique totalling over \$200 million was announced at the conference. The assistance from different countries and organizations includes foodstuffs, logistics, supply of production materials, and medicine.

#### Views Geneva Meeting in Lisbon Stopover

MB041258 Maputo Domestic Service in Portuguese 1030 GMT 4 Apr 87

[Excerpt] Prime Minister Mario Machungo returned home this morning. Speaking to newsmen yesterday during a brief stopover in Lisbon, Mario Machungo noted that it was in Malawi's interest to ensure security along the common border with Mozambique to guarantee the normal operation of Nacala railroad through which that country has access to the sea. Machungo was answering a question from Portuguese newsmen on whether Malawi had sent military forces to Mozambique.

On the results obtained at the Geneva meeting, the prime minister expressed his satisfaction and thanked the Portuguese people and government for what he described as the positive response in Switzerland to the appeal for emergency aid to Mozambique. The prime minister described our country's economic situation as grave, but pointed out that we are optimistic about the implementation of the economic rehabilitation program. He also said that Mozambique was expecting to receive replies from the IMF and the World Bank soon on financial assistance to Mozambique. During his stopover in Lisbon, Mario Machungo was welcomed by Azevedo Soares, Portuguese secretary for foreign affairs and cooperation, who represented Cavato Silva, whose government was brought down yesterday.

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CSO: 3400/482

MOZAMBIQUE

NIASSA PROVINCE RECEIVES MILITARY, ECONOMIC AID

MB022040 Maputo Domestic Service in Portuguese 1730 GMT 2 Apr 87

[Text] In September 1986 the huge and fertile Niassa Province in northern Mozambique was declared an emergency area due to the growing shortage of foodstuffs and basic commodities, which has already caused a number of deaths. Over 443,000 people now need aid. The present shortages are felt particularly in Majunde, Mecanhelas, Mandimba, Cuamba, Mecula, and (Ngauma) districts, and in Lichinga city itself.

The successive rains that fell in Niassa in late 1985 and early 1986 and a considerable restriction in the use of communication routes and means of transportation are among the factors that contribute to this state of affairs. However, the main reason for the famine currently afflicting Niassa is armed bandit action, which has forced the local residents to move continuously. Thus, they are left with no chance of engaging in agricultural activities. About half of Niassa's population is permanently on the move, and agricultural activity by the family sector has virtually come to a halt.

As if this was not enough, the armed bandits have done their best to prevent the supply of emergency aid to the needy. As in other parts of Mozambique, in Niassa Province the armed bandits have sabotaged communication routes--roads and railroads--with the aim of isolating the province from the rest of the country. Therefore, large quantities of goods for Niassa have been stranded for a long time at the ports of Nacala in Nampula Province, and Pemba in Cabo Delgado Province. It is through these ports that Niassa receives soap, salt, medicine, and clothing, fuel and fertilizers.

In addition to the military operations by the Mozambique Armed Forces, the relevant organs have been doing all they can to ensure assistance to the needy. Important airlift operations have been carried out and will continue to take place to supply goods and medicine to Niassa; a fertile province, which, under normal conditions, exports surplus produce to other provinces of Mozambique. But today it is plagued by famine due to armed bandit action.

Aware of the improvement in the security situation, the agriculture department in Niassa Province has been taking action to supply seeds to all interested farmers. Although planting is still far off, the agriculture department is already busy, because it wants to avoid delays. Once the security situation has stabilized, Niassa, a province of fertile valleys and plateaus, will once again feed itself and export to other provinces of Mozambique.

MOZAMBIQUE

NOTICIAS URGES HARD WORK TO AID RECOVERY

MB022022 Maputo Domestic Service in Portuguese 1730 GMT 2 Apr 87

[Text] We are all aware of the great demands imposed upon each one of us by the economic rehabilitation program [PRE] in the present phase of our history. The application of this program demands a great deal of effort and hardship, particularly in the battle for production. This is the beginning of today's NOTICIAS newspaper editorial: Time To Sow, Rather Than To Reap.

The commentator then says that now is not the time to reap the benefits, but to create, with our effort and knowledge, the conditions that will gradually permit an improvement in our standard of living. One must not expect immediate results, much less spectacular ones in a society like ours, which is profoundly tormented by natural disasters and the war of aggression of which our young nation has been victim.

The editorial adds that one must not dream of overnight abundance at a time when our factories and farms do not even produce enough to pay the salaries of their workers.

The NOTICIAS editorial continues by stating that a change in the material conditions of our lives will only come about after a change in our approach to the work that one does or should do. We must realize that the country is experiencing a very serious economic crisis and that we will come out victorious if we accept the hardships demanded by the PRE.

Finally, the editorial says that there will not be the longed for abundance as long as hard work is not part of our way of life. Only serious and unselfish work by all will bring about comfort and progress. We will then be proud of having taken part in the building of our own future.

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CSO: 3400/482

MOZAMBIQUE

**ARMED FORCES KILL 23 'BANDITS' IN ZAMBEZIA**

MB031935 Maputo in English to Southern Africa 1800 GMT 3 Apr 87

[Text] The Mozambican armed forces killed 23 bandits of the South African-backed MNR in two clashes in the central province of Zambezia in late March and early April. This brings to 373 the number of bandits killed in Zambezia since November last year. According to a military spokesman, on the morning of 29 March, Mozambican units clashed with a bandit gang in a region known as (Sezero) in Morrumbala District. They killed 19 of the bandits and a spokesman said that 3 of them were white. On Thursday, a bandit group which tried to infiltrate the locality of Micaune in the coastal district of Chinde was repulsed and suffered six losses. In operations on Wednesday and Thursday, the armed forces rescued 5,500 people from bandit control. Some 3,200 of these are now on the banks of the river (Lingue) in Inhassunge District near the provincial capital, Quelimane. According to a military source there are still many people living in the bush at the risk of death from starvation.

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CSO: 3400/482

MOZAMBIQUE

BRIEFS

HEALTH COOPERATION ACCORD WITH GDR--Under the terms of an accord just signed between Mozambique and the GDR, 10 doctors will be contracted to work in the Chimoio and Tete hospitals, the areas where Mozambique-GDR health cooperation is concentrated. The accord also provides for free assistance to Mozambican patients whose ailments cannot be treated in Mozambique. The GDR will also give study bursaries in the field of maintaining medical equipment. Delegation exchanges with the aim of exchanging views and publications are also expected. The accord was signed by Mozambican Health Minister Fernando Vaz and the GDR deputy minister for public health, who has been in Mozambique for a week. [Text] [Maputo Domestic Service in Portuguese 1030 GMT 1 Apr 87 MB] /9274

CSO: 3400/482

NAMIBIA

SWAPO SAYS REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA PLANS UDI

MB260942 Dakar PANA in English 0837 GMT 26 Mar 87

[Text] Lusaka, 26 Mar [PANA]--The South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO) assistant secretary general for information, Kandidima Nehova, has said the Pretoria regime is planning for a Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI) in Namibia.

Early this month the racist regime through its Namibian administrator-general, Louis Pienaar, directed the so-called interim government to expand their bases.

In an exclusive interview with PANA, Nehova said by expanding bases the so-called interim government wants to co-opt in Peter Kalangula who is the head of Ovambo bantustan and Justus Joroeb the head for the Davuy bantustan to create an impression that all people of Namibia were represented in interim government.

The SWAPO spokesman said the Boers were desperately creating bantustans to put puppets together in order to oppose SWAPO adding that SWAPO's strategy was to politicise people of Namibia to reject neo-colonial plans of interim government.

He called on the people of Namibia, regardless of colour to rally behind SWAPO which is the main force of struggle toward a free Namibia.

He said SWAPO will not relent in efforts to mobilise the international community to support it by giving it correct material assistance and by applying sanctions against the apartheid regime in Pretoria.

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CSO: 3400/478

NAMIBIA

ORGANIZATIONS REACT TO UN RECOMMENDATION

MB040652 Johannesburg Domestic Service in English 0500 GMT 4 Apr 87

[Text] All the internal parties in Southwest Africa have reacted to the recommendation by the United Nations secretary general, Dr Perez de Cuellar, that the territory be placed under UN transitional administration this year.

The SWAPO Democrats say that while the endeavors of the world body to achieve independence for Southwest Africa are welcomed, it cannot be accepted that an election under the control of and under the conditions stipulated by the United Nations will not be fair and free. The SWAPO Democrats also question the impartiality of the UN because it still recognizes SWAPO as the only true representative of the people of Southwest Africa.

The Southwest African National Union faction of Mr (Kuziko Kangoyike) has welcomed the recommendation by Dr De Cuellar, saying that it could end the deadlock over independence.

The Study Group for Peace and Contact in Windhoek has reaffirmed its standpoint that the UN Security Council Resolution 435 should be implemented as soon as possible. The chairman of the group, Mr (Brian Olin), said that his group was prepared to talk to any party about the implementation of the resolution.

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CSO: 3400/478

NAMIBIA

SWATF ANNOUNCES 'SHARP INCREASE' IN SWAPO DEATHS

MB021606 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1553 GMT 2 Apr 87

[Text] Windhoek, 2 Apr (SAPA)--South African-led security forces in northern SWA/Namibia killed 51 SWAPO insurgents in the last 15 days, bringing to 402 the number of insurgents killed to date this year, a spokesman for the SWA Territory Force said in Windhoek today. The figure "represents a sharp increase compared to last year when a total of 198 terrorists were eliminated in the first quarter of the year," the spokesman said. "A total of 221 terrorists were killed in the same period in 1985."

The spokesman said the rise in the number of SWAPO losses was attributed to an effort by SWAPO's armed wing, PLAN, to engage in more actions to promote SWAPO's international image, which had been badly damaged by the security forces sustained successes.

A considerable percentage of SWAPO's fatalities were suffered in southern Angola in preemptive strikes by the security forces from SWA/Namibia, the spokesman said.

Losses suffered by the security forces were considered to be on a "normal" level for the wet season infiltration by PLAN.

The effective combating of insurgency emerged clearly from the attempt this week by a special unit of PLAN, the People's Liberation Army of Namibia, to penetrate the farming area south of the "red line" which separates the northern commercial farming areas from the Ovambo communal land. "PLAN attempts through this action to overcome the wide publicity given last year to the special unit's absence from the operational area."

"A characteristic of this year's infiltration effort by SWAPO is increased intimidation of headmen through stand-off bombardments on their kraals," the spokesman said.

A group of three insurgents killed three bushmen, assaulted two others and wounded a bushman about 25 km northwest of Omauni in northern SWA/Namibia on Monday night.

"The terrorists were still using the defence shield of FAPLA (the Angolan Government Army) by fleeing back into Angola after they have committed their deeds of terror," the statement said.

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CSO: 3400/478

NAMIBIA

NPP 435 GROUP BACKS UN INDEPENDENCE PLAN

MB021620 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1402 GMT 2 Apr 87

[Text] Windhoek, 2 Apr (SAPA)--Peace and national reconciliation in SWA/Namibia was not possible outside the framework of United Nations Security Council Resolution 435 concerning the territory's independence, the Namibia Peace Plan Study and Contact Group (NPP 435) said in Windhoek today.

The group said in a statement that reconciliation in SWA/Namibia was not possible by South Africa's appointment of the transitional government "in defiance and contempt of Namibians, international opinion and the negotiated peace plan known as Resolution 435 of 1978."

The SWA/Namibian transitional government was seemingly in connivance with South Africa to conscript "Namibians to kill and maim each other on the battlefields" in an attempt to defeat SWAPO militarily.

"Even if SWAPO is defeated on the battlefields, that will not lead to a just, honourable and lasting peace and true reconciliation," the statement said.

"This should be remembered by those waiting in the wings to take SWAPO's place once South Africa has made the kill."

The NPP 435 was formed last year under the chairmanship of a senior Windhoek lawyer, Mr Bryan Olinn.

The statement said the administrator-general, Mr Louis Pienaar, and representatives of the transitional government actively discouraged SWA/Namibians from meeting, discussing and negotiating with the SWAPO leadership.

Their "hate campaign" against SWAPO could not succeed if people from SWA/Namibia defied the wishes of the government representatives, the statement said.

"As in the case of the cry by the South African and the interim government for peaceful negotiation, the actions of representatives of these governments demonstrate that their commitment to peaceful negotiation and reconciliation is superficial and insincere.

"Our NPP 435 group is committed to contact, discussion and negotiation with any party and group, including parties participating in the interim government" provided that such contact was aimed at implementation of UN Resolution 435.

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CSO: 3400/478

NIGERIA

RADIO ON AFRICA AS FOREIGN POLICY FOCUS

AB031629 Lagos International Service in English 0950 GMT 3 Apr 87

["Viewpoint"]

[Text] The minister of external affairs has briefed diplomats in Nigeria on the outcome of the meeting of the Lagos forum. Viewpoint asserts that despite the initiative for the formulation of the new forum, Africa still remains the centerpiece of Nigeria's foreign policy.

A consultative meeting of senior Foreign Ministry officials from 16 countries from Africa, Asia, Europe, and Latin America was held in Lagos the middle of last month. The main objective of that gathering was to explore Nigeria's idea of a concert of medium powers in all its ramifications in the interest of fostering greater international dialogue and cooperation. It is very (?imperative) to explain the reasons why Nigeria hosted such a meeting, in order to clear any misunderstanding which might arise about its objective.

In the first place, the Nigerian initiative on the concert of medium powers is motivated by the deep concern at the lack of progress in the resolution of pressing global economic and political issues. What [words indistinct] is the deteriorating environment from which [words indistinct] multilateral cooperation and action had been largely (?permeated) and paralyzed, even as many of the major problems of our times have been coming to a head. For example, the rule today is marked unwillingness by states to adhere to many of the rules, principles, and objectives which were negotiated in the early post-war years to regulate international interaction and behavior. Instead, new rules are being given by member states of the international system for the inability to work for genuine solutions to such burning global issues as the continuing arms race, militarization of outer space, apartheid in South Africa, and a host of others. These tendencies have brought the marginalization of the small and medium powers in world affairs. They generated new (?fears) and uncertainties in international relations. Last year, they had (?implored) the ability of multilateral institutions, and in particular the United Nations, to resolve pressing global problems and crisis situations. [Words indistinct] statement on the conduct of international relations had created gaps in the systems which would now necessitate the building of bridges through reinvigoration of a collective effort. This is why Nigeria has sought to explore, with a number of countries, the concert of medium powers as a new

approach designed to restore confidence in the international peace process and to complement ongoing efforts at international cooperation.

Besides, it should be made very clear that the new initiative does not represent any change in Nigeria's foreign policy. Africa still remains the centerpiece of the nation's foreign policy. Not only that, Nigeria's membership of the OPEC, the Commonwealth, or the Nonaligned [Movement] still remains unaffected. In addition, the Lagos forum was not intended to challenge or duplicate the Nonaligned Movement in particular.

The Nonaligned Movement is a southern organization, while the concert of medium powers overlaps south (?forum).

One third of the countries which attended the Lagos meeting do not belong to the Nonaligned Movement. While Nigeria believes in the solidarity of Third World, we also recognize that diplomacy and concrete resolution do not depend on preaching exclusively to the converted. This is why Nigeria believes that what we need for a forum [words indistinct] a bridge between the north and south.

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CSO: 3400/477

NIGERIA

NEW AUCTION SYSTEM USED IN SFEM BIDDING

AB022155 Lagos Domestic Service in English 1500 GMT 2 Apr 87

[Text] The (dutch) auction system was used today by the Central Bank to sell foreign exchange to dealers on the Second-Tier Foreign Exchange Market [SFEM]. Under the system, dealers are made to buy their foreign exchange at rates quoted by them regardless of the marginal rate arrived at. The system was adopted after the 23d bidding session 2 weeks ago. The Central Bank hoped that it would help to check excessively high bidding by dealers, thereby enhancing the establishment of the true value of the naira.

It was believed that under the previous system, banks quoted unreasonably high just to succeed in knowing that at the end of the session they would buy at a low rate. Eighty million dollars was offered for sale today, and our correspondent gathered that the naira appreciated against the U.S. dollar by about 30 kobo compared with the exchange rate of 4 naira to the dollar arrived at during the 23d bidding 2 weeks ago. This means that the dollar will exchange for naira 70 kobo. Forty-four banks participated and 34 were successful. There were no disqualifications. The next session will be held on the 16th of this month.

Journalists were barred from witnessing the bidding today for the first time since the commencement of SFEM last year.

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CSO: 3400/477

NIGERIA

BRIEFS

CULTURAL AGREEMENT WITH TANZANIA--Lagos--Nigeria and Tanzania have signed an agreement to promote cultural cooperation between the two countries. The agreement will make possible an exchange of visits by newsmen, scholarships and sports visits. Swahili teachers will be able to visit Nigeria. The agreement was signed in Lagos by Ndugu Fatuma Said Ali, minister for community development, culture, youth and sports, and Mr Tony Momoh, Nigerian minister for information and culture. [Text] [Dar es Salaam Domestic Service in Swahili 1900 GMT 26 Mar 87 EA] /9599

CSO: 3400/477

SAO TOME AND PRINCIPE

BRIEFS

COOPERATION WITH PORTUGAL--Portuguese Labor Minister Mira Amaral signed a cooperation agreement yesterday in Sao Tome involving 15 million contos. Mira Amaral has been in Sao Tome since Saturday at the invitation of his Sao Tomean counterpart, Celestiho-Costa. Yesterday the Portuguese minister was received by President Manuel Pinto da Costa. The agreement signed by the labor minister and the Sao Tomean authorities covers labor, employment, professional training, and social security. The money is for the purchase of equipment.  
[Text] [Lisbon International Service in Portuguese 0600 GMT 31 Mar 87 LD]  
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CSO: 3400/469

RAIDING CONTINUES AMONG KARIMOJONG

London AFRICA CONFIDENTIAL in English 18 Mar 87 p 7

[Text]

Among the government's many problems is cattle-raiding by Karimojong pastoralists in the north-east and by the free-booters who infest the region. The main victims of the raids, in Lango and Teso, are in fear of what one victim terms 'these human locusts', whose raids have reached unprecedented proportions. Some people in the Soroti region are defying the government by taking up weapons in self-defence (AC Vol 28 No 5). Many people in Kampala have little sympathy for the plight of northerners and easterners in general, whom they hold responsible for the sins of former Presidents **Idi Amin, Milton Obote and Basilio Okello**.

Cattle-raiding is a way of life for the Karimojong, who have stolen herds from their neighbours and each other for centuries. But the raids have become increasingly violent and audacious in the last ten years because of the growing number of guns, impoverishment and the recruitment of Karimojong into the Obote and Okello armies. Many ex-soldiers are now back in Karamoja with guns, military expertise, and a taste for looting. Guns first proliferated in 1979 when soldiers from Idi Amin's army abandoned the barracks at Moroto as Amin fell. The Karimojong helped themselves to the armoury and systematically stripped former Obote and Okello soldiers of their weapons as they fled from President **Yoweri Museveni's National Resistance Army (NRA)** in 1985-6. The Karimojong now raid with self-loading rifles, machine guns and even grenade launchers.

Karimojong raids are especially heavy in the dry season, from August to March. This was the case in the first raiding season after Museveni's takeover. In August 1986 the raids began as usual, and were made worse because NRA troops were moved to Acholi to deal with the rebellion there (AC Vol 28 No 3). The raids continued almost daily until December, striking into the six districts that border Karamoja: Kitgum, Lira, Soroti, Kumi, Mbale and Kapchorwa.

Initially the NRA could not stop the raids while also dealing with the revolt in the neighbouring Acholi region. Even those battalions left in Karamoja - the 23rd in Moroto and the 31st in Kotido - had to concentrate on the rebels in Acholi, who were infiltrating Karamoja from Sudan and from Kitgum district. The victims in Lango and Teso began to say that the NRA was deliberately withholding protection as a punishment for their former political allegiances. They were strongholds of Obote's *Uganda People's Congress*, and Lira is Obote's home district. There were even rumours that local NRA officials including Soroti Special District Administrator **Amooti Rwakatale** were conniving in the cattle-stealing. The following examples give an idea of the heaviness of the raids:

- Obalonga, November 1986. The primary school was overrun by raiders who killed the headmaster and four children.
- Toroma, November 1986. 105 people killed in a raid by over 1,000 raiders.
- Owora, east of Soroti, October 1986. Raiders stopped a bus and killed seven passengers.

The raids began to subside in November as the NRA moved in more troops under Eastern Brigade Commander **Tom Kyaligonza**. By January, Museveni claimed that the NRA had eliminated all but two bands of cattle-rustlers, and also that the NRA had killed no less than 250 raiders at Nabilatuk.

The government's political wing, the *National Resistance Movement* (NRM), claims to have a three-pronged policy for dealing with the 400,000 people of Karamoja:

- Military: to disarm the Karimojong while protecting them from their traditional enemies in Sudan and Kenya.
- Economic: development will be co-ordinated by the *Karamoja Development Authority*. Animal health facilities will be improved. The government considers that Karimojong will cease raiding once their herds have recovered, giving them a source of income. There is also a programme of creating roads, boreholes, dams, health posts and schools.
- Political: the Karimojong are to run their own affairs through the NRM's local committees, which will help restrain the raiders.

These well-meaning plans are facing serious obstacles. A disarming sweep in July and August picked up about 1,600 guns, but thousands more are hidden in villages. And the operation gave rise to allegations that government troops had used a gruesome torture, the so-called three-piece tying, to acquire information about arms caches. Above all, the NRM does not have the money or soldiers to implement its plan. Furthermore the NRM appears to underestimate the role of cattle-raiding in the culture and economy of the Karimojong. The NRM's stated aim of settling the Karimojong would be ecologically disastrous. Karimojong women and children live in permanent villages but men and boys roam with their herds in search of water and grazing. It is the only way of

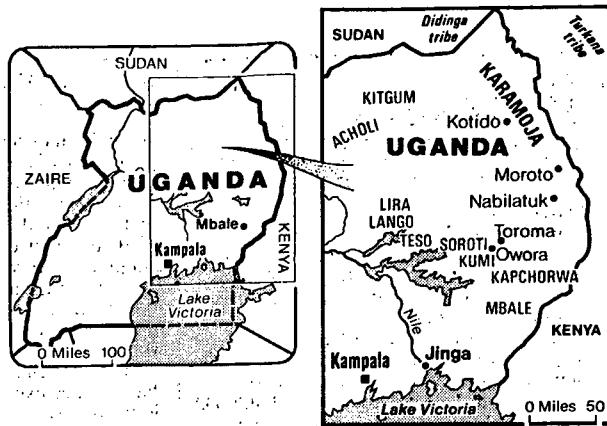
exploiting the arid region, where the rains fail once in every four years on average. If the NRM does try to stop Karimojong cattle movements altogether, famine may strike again as it did in 1972-3 and 1979-80.

#### KARIMOJONG RAIDS

The Karimojong traditionally raid for cattle. They believe that all cattle belong to them by divine ordinance. Cattle confer status on men, provide bridewealth, and provide the blood and milk which are essential for the Karimojong diet.

The raids involve killing, including of women and children. But guns have made raids more lethal. In 1958, when the Karimojong had only spears, 50 people died in 200 reported raids. In 1986 one raid in Mbale resulted in the deaths of nine soldiers and 13 raiders. In the same week raiders killed 10 people in Ewal and Akio villages in Lira.

Raids are well organised, and are directed by a supreme commander. In the early 1980s the commander was 'General Oteng', imprisoned under Okello and now thought to be living in his village again. Diviners advise on when to raid, and they bless the raiders, who smear themselves with chyme - secretions from a cow's stomach - for good luck. They leave their villages in groups of five to ten, and then meet up to form parties of 200-400 men. Some wait inside Karamoja for the raiders to return, and help to carry off the spoils.



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CSO: 3400/494

UGANDA

TRADE INCREASINGLY ROUTED THROUGH KISUMU

Addis Ababa THE ETHIOPIAN HERALD in English 14 Mar 87 p 4

[Text] Nairobi (Reuter)--Although Uganda has a direct rail link with Kenya, long border delays have led the country to divert 90 percent of its rail traffic to the port of Mombasa via a ferry link across Lake Victoria, Ugandan officials based in Kenya said yesterday.

About 70 percent of Uganda's external trade is conducted through Mombasa and the problems of hauling cargoes to and from the port are compounded by a chronic shortage of railway wagons, they added.

"We have a serious shortage of wagons and depend on Kenya most of the time. Our existing fleet meets only 70 percent of our wagon requirements. Kenya gives us wagons and we pay for them," a local representative of Uganda railways said.

Uganda developed a preference for the lake route because customs formalities at the Kenyan lake port of Kisumu take less than a day, compared to two or three days at the rail crossing at Malaba, he added.

"Malaba is now handling only 10 percent of the trade and all the coffee and oil goes through Kisumu," the official said.

However, an accident recently damaged the wagon ferry which plies between Kisumu and the Ugandan port of Jinja, causing bottlenecks on the lake route too.

One of the consequences was a two-week petrol shortage in Kampala as a result of tanker wagons being held up.

"We could not transport fuel through the inland line because it was already in Kisumu when the accident occurred," the Uganda railways official said.

Sources at the coffee marketing board in Kampala also reported delays in coffee export shipments last January due to congestion on the lake ferries.

Coffee accounts for about 95 percent of Uganda's export earnings and last November President Yoweri Museveni ordered all coffee shipments to be carried by rail in order to avoid the higher costs of road haulage.

Most of Uganda's external trade which is not channeled through Mombasa goes via another lake ferry to the Tanzanian lake port of Mwanza, from where it is railfreighted to the Indian Ocean ports of Dar es Salaam and Tanga.

A spokesman for the Uganda High Commission in Nairobi said the increased use of Kisumu had helped speed up the delivery of Ugandan imports.

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CSO: 3400/494

UGANDA

BRIEFS

MANPOWER SURVEY LAUNCHED--The government has launched a comprehensive manpower survey, the first of its kind since 1967. This project which has come out of government's recognition of the fact that trained manpower is the prerequisite to accelerate economic recovery and sustain development is being implemented through the Ministry of Planning and Economic Development. The project is jointly financed by the Uganda government and UNDP/ILO with the latter providing technical assistance and other facilities like vehicles. The overall long term objectives of the national manpower survey are to provide the government and its planning and executing agencies with a realistic assessment of the human resources position in the country both in terms of their development and utilization. The second objective is to lay foundation for establishing infrastructure for systematic evaluation and collection of information in this area and its subsequent use in the country's development plans have failed because of overlooking the manpower implications [as published]. Because of the importance attached to this project, government is mobilising the participation of all departments, institutions and agencies in the public and private sectors involved in labour manpower and employment activities. The project will also assess the manpower situation in the rural areas and the urban informal sector. However, this will be done on sample basis and is meant to shed more light on the behaviour of the labour market in as far as utilisation of human resources is concerned. [Text] [Kampala FINANCIAL TIMES in English  
23 Feb 87 pp 1, 6] /9317

CSO: 3400/494

FINANCIAL GAZETTE DEMANDS APOLOGY FROM MINISTER

MB011734 Harare THE FINANCIAL GAZETTE in English 20 Mar 87 p 4

[Editorial: "Minister's Comments Were a Gross Slander"]

[Text] The Minister of Information, Posts and Telecommunications, Dr Nathan Shamuyarira, this week deliberately slandered the reputation of this newspaper by stating that we were supporters of Ian Smith and the Conservative Alliance of Zimbabwe, and by implication that we were supporters of apartheid.

These accusations, that are manifestly untrue, are extremely serious and could only have been made as a desperate attempt to discredit THE FINANCIAL GAZETTE in Zimbabwe and internationally.

The minister, forgetting perhaps that he was outside Parliament and could not claim immunity, made his remarks at a public meeting. What he had to say was subsequently repeated by the daily press and the national news service.

The occasion of his misrepresentation of well-known facts was particularly inappropriate--a congress organised by the Zimbabwe Institute of Public Relations in Harare [ZIPR]. It was ironic, also, that in his speech, much of which was devoted to encouraging everyone to project a positive picture of Zimbabwe abroad, the minister was once again responsible for damaging the country's reputation.

A few months ago, Dr Shamuyarira threatened unspecified action against this newspaper, calling into question, albeit briefly, the country's freedom of the press. This was widely reported abroad, to Zimbabwe's detriment.

More recently, the minister dismissed the costs of Zimbabwe's military involvement in Mozambique as being only \$10 million a year. The figure is so inaccurate that his use of it could have been for propaganda purposes only. By doing so he compromised his own reputation as a minister in Zimbabwe's government, both here and abroad.

Now Dr Shamuyarira has descended to a distortion of the truth that is so absurd that one can only guess at his motives.

His remarks, associating this newspaper with Ian Smith and the Conservative Alliance of Zimbabwe, with an implication that THE FINANCIAL GAZETTE supports apartheid, are nothing more than defamation.

Nothing written in this newspaper since Independence, when the present editor took office, can be construed--directly or indirectly--as supporting the minister's accusations.

The minister knew this when he addressed the ZIPR conference this week, and has therefore exposed himself as having such a disregard for the truth that his portfolio might be more accurately described as the Ministry of Disinformation.

This newspaper is accustomed to period charges from certain quarters that it does not support the government. We are weary of reiterating our support for the broad thrust of government policy, and restating that we believe that there are more than enough praise-singers in the media, thus justifying our role as one of critical support.

Dr Shamuyarira knows that the government ultimately controls four radio channels, two television channels, two daily and two Sunday newspapers, and the national news service. With this barrage of "friendly" media, is the minister so concerned at the existence of THE FINANCIAL GAZETTE that he needs to attack us as he did this week?

We realise that we are not perfect, and are subject to criticism, but let this be specific and honest, as our criticism of the minister, on this and other occasions, has been.

As for his opinion that THE FINANCIAL GAZETTE does not have a future in Zimbabwe, that judgment should be left to our 90,000 readers--more than twice the number of people, incidentally, than voted for Dr Shamuyarira in the last general election.

Dr Shamuyarira owes THE FINANCIAL GAZETTE a retraction and an apology. So do the HERALD and ZIANA for publishing the slander (their lawyers will confirm our claim). This is the least this paper can rightfully expect, and much less than it might yet legally demand.

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CSO: 3400/481

ZIMBABWE

BRIEFS

ZIMBABWE GOVERNMENT INTRODUCES RESETTLEMENT POLICY--The government has introduced a new resettlement policy aimed at ensuring equitable distribution of resources to raise the standard of living in communal areas. The minister of local government, rural, and urban development, Comrade Enos Chikowore, whose ministry is now responsible for all resettlement projects, said overcrowded villages will be reorganized under the new policy. He told resettlement farmers at (Dzikamayi) scheme near Chegutu yesterday, that land will be reallocated to remaining villagers, in cases where people are moved out for resettlement elsewhere. Comrade Chikowore said under the new policy the government will develop more infrastructures to encourage modern farming methods and establish new land use plans to raise agricultural production in these areas. [Text] [Harare Domestic Service in English 0500 GMT 27 Mar 87 MB] /9274

WARNING OF FOREIGN CURRENCY SHORTAGE--The minister of trade and commerce, Comrade Oliver Munyaradzi, said Zimbabweans must be prepared to face a period of extreme hardships in as far as foreign currency availability is concerned. Addressing the Mutare branch of the Zimbabwe National Chamber of Commerce yesterday the minister stressed that the period of hardships will not be a permanent one, adding that his ministry is doing all it can to improve the situation. On the Beira corridor, he urged small-scale businessmen to play a significant role by operating transport haulage between the Port of Beira and Mutare. Comrade Munyaradzi disclosed that the government has set aside 5 million dollars for the importation of commercial vehicles, which can be bought by small-scale businessmen for that purpose. [Text] [Harare Domestic Service in English 0500 GMT 27 Mar 87 MB] /9274

BEIRA CORRIDOR CHAIRMAN ON SECURITY--The chairman of the Beira corridor, Mr Denis Norman, says the security situation in the corridor is satisfactory. Addressing the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association in Harare yesterday, Mr Norman said there is concentration of troops along the road and the railway line. He added that repairs on the railway line will be completed next month and road repairs will start in July while dredging of the Beira port continues. Mr Norman urged politicians to support the rehabilitation of the corridor as it is one of the biggest joint regional and international ventures. [Text] [Harare Domestic Service in English 0500 GMT 2 Apr 87 MB] /9274

CSO: 3400/481

SOUTH AFRICA

ARMSCOR CHIEF ON ALLEGED ISRAELI WEAPONS LINK

MB302026 Johannesburg Television Service in Afrikaans 1830 GMT 30 Mar 87

[Interview with Commandant Piet Marais, chairman of the Armaments Development and Production Corp. of South Africa, ARMSCOR, by Kolie van Koller on the "Network" program, introduced by Betty Kemp]

[Text] [Kemp] This past weekend the minister of defence, General Magnus Malan, spoke about the alleged cooperation between South Africa and Israel in the development of weapons systems. He also called on certain press groups to be more responsible. This follows recent press reports directly linking Israel and South Africa in the development of the G-5 cannon. Kolie van Koller discussed these allegations and other issues surrounding so-called Israel involvement.

[Begin video recording] [Van Koller] What is the background to this issue?

[Marais] Well, to begin with, you probably know that our policy here at ARMSCOR for many years now--we were forced into such a policy by the arms boycott--is that we never say from whom we buy and to whom we sell. But I can tell you, though, that I believe the speculation that South Africa is so very dependent on Israel for its arms is exaggerated. There is no truth in that at all.

[Van Koller] What about the G-5 cannon?

[Marais] That was given as an example that Israel has assisted this country to develop such a cannon. I can assure you that that could not be further from the truth. There has never been any Israeli involvement, nor an Israeli license or model, for the simple reason that they do not have a cannon like the G-5. It is unique, one of a kind.

[Van Koller] Why do people then write such reports, commandant? There have been such extensive reports on the matter.

[Marais] I believe it does not please certain governments, particularly in the West and elsewhere, that South Africa has become so independent in arms production. They do not like to hear how we have achieved our independence, because that is an example of yet another failure of a sanctions campaign.

[Van Koller] You refer to a sanctions campaign which did not succeed. It seems to me that the present campaign against ARMSCOR has not succeeded.

[Marais] Right. We have neutralized the arms boycott, up to now. We will have to see how things go in the future, but I am certain we will continue succeeding. We will continue to neutralize that campaign. It is interesting, though, that this campaign against ARMSCOR is one of 95 kinds of sanctions applied in the world since World War II, between 1946 and 1984, against one country or another. The United States was involved in no less than 64 of those 95. But the arms boycott is unique in the sense that it is the most comprehensive sanctions ever drawn up, because all 150 member states of the United Nations were compelled to abide by it. And it is the only case on record where the Russians and the United States agreed on sanctions. In all other cases they normally oppose each other.

[Van Koller] Do you think there will be a problem for ARMSCOR if Israel no longer signs arms agreements, in the future, as the press has said?

[Marais] No. South Africa has very few problems in that regard, because for one thing we are totally independent of the United States. In fact, where ARMSCOR is concerned, we are completely independent of all countries. We do not depend on any country for our military preparedness. That is one of the most important things we have achieved, our own weapons industry. Can you imagine what our position would be if our government had to go hat in hand to some other country, with our circumstances being what they are at present, and beg for munitions for our protection? We are totally self-sufficient in that regard. The United States is busy pressing Israel for various reasons, as reported in the press, over the espionage incident. If there has to be a loser, it might be Israel, but it is definitely not South Africa.

[Van Koller] Commandant, it is not every day I get an opportunity to talk to you. Let me ask you about the future of ARMSCOR. Is there any new technology, are there any new products in the pipeline, if I may use that word?

[Marais] Oh, yes. You see, it is part of the arms industry that first of all you must be able to provide munitions so that your armed forces can maintain the image of a strongman. That is an assurance that you will not be attacked. In order to do that we must always remain ahead of what the Russians are sending to Africa. So the munitions industry is involved in a game here where there is no final whistle. We will persevere. We will have to develop new weapons systems for our armed forces in order to stay ahead. [end video recording]

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CSO: 3400/491

SOUTH AFRICA

BOTHA STRESSES ANC'S REFUSAL TO NEGOTIATE

MB310446 Johannesburg SAPA in English 2349 GMT 30 Mar 87

[Text] Johannesburg, 30 Mar (SAPA)--The independents and the Progressive Federal Party were making a "basic and historic" mistake in believing that the ANC would ever take part in negotiations, the minister of foreign affairs, Mr Pik Botha said at an election meeting tonight.

"How do you negotiate with a party or with leaders who have stated categorically and arrogantly that they are not interested in negotiations," Mr Botha told about 500 people in Robertsham, in Langlaagte constituency.

He said the African National Congress knew that negotiations would prevent them achieving their objectives by violent means.

It would hold out on negotiating because it believed that Europe and that "moral policeman," the United States, would cripple the economy in the hope that it would lead to South Africa eventually being weakened militarily and enable it to take over.

That would leave Moscow in control of South Africa's coal, gold, diamonds, platinum-based minerals, and its infrastructure; and then the United States would wake up and say "what a tragedy."

"There is no consolation for me or for South Africa to say then that we were right. I am not interested in that kind of tragedy."

He said the voters of South Africa should give a clear signal to the world that they were only prepared to change on the basis of certain principles.

If the world did not find these principles acceptable then "we will fight it out."

There was a preception overseas that whites in South Africa could be pressurised by sanctions and boycotts and if an impression was created that white unity was crumbling, it would encourage the World Council of Churches and people like Senator Edward Kennedy to "hammer us until we are finished."

He said South Africa's future existence was far more important than the small political arguments now taking place.

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CSO: 3400/491

SOUTH AFRICA

PIK BOTHA ON NAMIBIA, ARMS DEALS, LAND SALES

MB022001 Johannesburg Television Service in English 1800 GMT 2 Apr 87

[Report on interview with RSA Minister of Foreign Affairs Pik Botha by Freek Robinson; introduced by announcer Michael de Morgan; time and place not given]

[Text] [De Morgan] The minister of foreign affairs, Mr Pik Botha, says the presence of 40,000 Cuban troops north of the Southwest African border who are assisting SWAPO makes nonsense of the idea of free and fair elections in the territory. This follows a request by the secretary general of the United Nations, Mr Perez de Cuellar, that South Africa reconsider its linkage of a Cuban withdrawal with the implementation of Resolution 435. Mr Botha spoke to Freed Robinson.

[Begin video recording] [Botha] We have made it clear, and the United States Government has also thus far stood very strongly on this point, namely that there can be no settlement unless the vast number of Cubans withdraw from Angola. It is a fact that a very important element of Resolution 435 is the requirement that there should be free and fair elections in the territory. Now the idea of 40,000 Cuban troops north of the border assisting SWAPO and harboring SWAPO just makes nonsense of any idea of free and fair elections.

[Robinson] A debate on the SWA-Namibia issue is expected soon in the United Nations and the additional charge is being made that South Africa is delaying the process of the implementation of Resolution 435.

[Botha] We will make our position very clear, namely that it is not our fault that there is this delay in moving towards independence in Southwest Africa. This delay must be laid four-square at the door of SWAPO. SWAPO does not want a democratic solution, and they are very much like the ANC. As a matter of fact they insist on continuing their campaign of violence in order to achieve power in that territory. We cannot be part to such a solution. All of this will be made clear at the moment this debate starts. You are quite right. I expect the debate to start this week.

[Robinson] Minister, the other international issue affecting South Africa currently is the report of the American secretary of state, Mr George Shultz, to Congress. It is reported that in that particular report it is stated South

Africa has had arms deals with Israel as well as with a number of Western European countries.

[Botha] We have made it clear that in the light of the arms embargo that has been enforced against this country unjustly, very unjustly for so many years, that we do not make any comment on allegations of that nature. [end video recording]

[De Morgan] Mr Botha was also asked if he was considering Mr Louis Nel's offer to sell diplomatic land in Tokyo.

[Begin Botha video recording] No. No. We cannot consider Mr Nel's offer or any other offer, because what we are doing now is to investigate all the aspects and facets of this proposition. [end video recording]

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SOUTH AFRICA

MINISTER PROPOSES NEW INDABA TO ACCOMMODATE BUTHELEZI

MB260845 Johannesburg SAPA in English 2239 GMT 25 Mar 87

[Text] Pietermaritzburg, 25 Mar (SAPA)--The Indaba could be reopened or another Indaba created to accommodate black leaders such as Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi who would not participate in the national statutory council, the minister of agricultural economics, Mr Greyling Wentzel said tonight.

Speaking at a public meeting in Modi River in support of Mr David Bruce, the NP candidate there, Mr Wentze said that while the statutory council was the medium for negotiation, it was not the absolute medium and "we could even reopen the Indaba."

Chief Buthelezi, chief minister of KwaZulu, has said that he could not take part in the statutory council unless the ANC was unbanned and Nelson Mandela released.

"The fact that the NP does not support certain facets of the Indaba does not mean that we cannot have another Indaba," Mr Wentzel said.

"The NP stands for negotiation, and we want to talk to blacks around the table to give them a say in joint decisionmaking in South Africa," he said.

The proposed national statutory council would be followed by a council of state which would have legislative functions and would supercede the tricameral parliament, Mr Wentzel said. A new constitution would then have to be formed and, as in 1983, the electorate consulted.

One of the reasons for the recent unrest was that in the 1983 Constitution blacks were excluded, he said. He appealed for the NP to be returned with an increased majority so that it could negotiate for the inclusion of blacks from a basis of strength. "In the final analysis there is an imbalance in SA because millions are not participating," he said. "The challenge facing us is to rectify this without destroying the rights of others or allowing one group to dominate the others."

The simple inclusion of blacks in a fourth chamber would create friction among the different black groups and could come close to majority rule.

Mr Bruce, who left the New Republic Party to stand for the NP against his former colleague, the sitting MP Mr Ralph Hardingham, said that the PFP/NRP alliance's support for the Indaba was driving more and more people into the Conservative Party. He said the NP could not accept the one-man-one-vote, or the financial implications of the Indaba proposals.

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SOUTH AFRICA

TRANSPORT MINISTER COMMENTS ON SATS STRIKE

MB021836 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1827 GMT 2 Apr 87

[Text] Johannesburg, 2 Apr (SAPA)--The continuing strike by about 14,000 workers of the SA Transport Service [SATS] was being encouraged by "certain" organisations like the United Democratic Front (UDF) and the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), the minister of transport affairs, Mr Eli Louw, said today.

In interviews with SABC's radio and television services, Mr Louw said it was the intention of these organisations to take the crisis from the schools and townships to the workplace.

The strike entered in 20th day today with no sign of an early settlement to the dispute.

Mr Louw denied allegations by the SA Railways and Harbors Workers Union--a COSATU affiliate--that SATS management was not prepared to negotiate.

He said allegations that SATS did not allow freedom of association were also not true. Workers were allowed to join any union they wanted, but SATS would negotiate only with the union to which the "vast majority" of SATS workers belonged.

He also said there were indications that some of the strikers were returning to work. He claimed a "few hundred people had returned to work today, and more are expected to do so tomorrow."

The minister said transport in South Africa was a strategic service and strikes were illegal.

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SOUTH AFRICA

HEUNIS SAYS CHANGE IN SOCIAL WELFARE

MB031104 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1052 GMT 3 Apr 87

[Text] Pretoria, 3 Apr (SAPA)--The minister of constitutional development and planning, Mr Chris Heunis, today officially opened the R6.2 million Tsosoloso Place of Safety near Pretoria--the first of four phases of the Rietgat welfare project.

He said the inauguration took place at a time when the government was in the midst of a programme in which the total development of South Africa was being viewed "afresh and creatively."

"This process of change and renewal is already visible in the field of social welfare," he said.

Mr Heunis said black leaders in the social welfare field already cooperated with the government "in various forums."

"In a dynamic manner" the government constantly succeeded in securing the cooperation of communities in spite of intimidation and unrest, he said.

Regional welfare councils for black communities consisted essentially of leaders nominated by their own communities and who wished to meet the future through peaceful means, he said.

"Although the political viewpoints of some members of regional welfare councils differ from that of the government they have been bold enough to come forward and make a contribution to their communities and progress," Mr Heunis said.

He expressed appreciation for the role which these members of black communities played in the activities of regional welfare councils and liaison committees.

Mr Heunis said it was policy that local communities, through their own welfare organisations and churches, should accept co-responsibility for the provision of welfare services and the establishment of institutions.

"The state, however, accepts responsibility for the rendering of certain statutory services and caring for certain categories of cases which are difficult to accommodate in institutions of private organisations," he said.

The Tsosoloso Place of Safety also provided a central kitchen, laundry and administrative buildings. The initial planning for the completion of the entire complex was R20 million. This institution was manned by a well-trained team consisting of social workers, teachers, nurses, and other personnel.

In the next phases a rehabilitation centre for drug and alcohol dependents, a state children's home and homes for the physically disabled and the frail aged will be provided for.

A training centre for social and welfare personnel will be erected as part of the last phase.

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SOUTH AFRICA

FORMER RAPPORT EDITOR ON AFRIKANER JOURNALISM

MB031701 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1555 GMT 3 Apr 87

[Text] Cape Town, 3 Apr (SAPA)--Dr Wimpie de Klerk, who resigned as editor of RAPPORT recently, said that he noted that he was not alone in his protest resignation and told the Cape Town Press Club that he had just been informed that the editor and assistant editor of FAIR LADY, Dene Smuts and Erica Platter, had resigned, "for the same type of protests for which I resigned."

Dr De Klerk who was the creator of the terms "verlig" [enlightened] and "verkramp" [ultra conservative] said he pleaded with the government to "temper its style on Afrikaner journalism because it needs to retain its political credibility."

The Afrikaner press should, as in the 1970's, pave the way for further reform, just as it had prepared and paved the way for Mr P. W. Botha's reform initiatives.

"We must accept that there is no other way in the messianic sense. The press must continue questioning and exploring." It had to retain its political credibility.

Dr De Klerk said that the pressures on the Afrikaner press, which with the SABC reached monstrous proportions, fortunately did not underscore an undermining of democracy.

"It is perhaps a nervousness on the part of government members in respect of their own reform politics. They are saying ABC... and if someone wants to spell out D they want to retreat to the middle road of duplicity. This toe-the-line commandment can also be accompanied by an aggressive sensitivity that stemmed from a what-have-we-not-done-for-the-country-and you're-not-accepting-it mortification."

Dr De Klerk said that the autocratic manner in which the authorities were treating the friendly media amounted to an insult to Afrikaner journalism. There had been an emancipation of Afrikaner newspaper from a too narrow connection to the NP during the 1970's but in the past 2 years there had been a significant shift.

The atmosphere between the government and its sympathetic media had become more strained and the demand that Afrikaner journalism become the National Party's mouthpiece had grown. This had come about through a questioning of so-called "leftist and non-kosher" rightists against whom steps needed to be taken.

"Pressure had mounted in the past 2 years to make Afrikaner journalism march in the National Party's squad (NP se gelid te laat marsjeer). There followed a continuous criticism and blatant intervention which brought mounting tensions. All my friends in the press and SABC know this," Dr De Klerk said.

"This toe-the-line syndrome which they will recall is just like the three little monkeys--it was a never-seen, never-heard and never-spoke-of toeing of the line.

"Our credibility and function is impaired by these attitudes and inhibits and reduces us to propaganda institutions."

Dr De Klerk said that those who were dissatisfied with the status quo could do what he and the so-called independents had done and resign in protest, or they could remain and attempt changes from within. Both these options were valid and actually complimented each other. In his own case, he pointed out, the situation had built up to a point where he had no other option but to resign in protest.

Responding to a question as the author of the 1960's terms "verlig and verkramp," he said that the Verkramptes of today identified themselves but he believed that he represented the thinking of the 22 percent of Afrikaner verligtes who in the 1990's would start to concentrate their political thinking on what he termed "federative concepts" which were directed at territory-based models rather than on the four-race groups which the National Party presently considered the essential building blocks of a constitutional solution.

These verligtes also believed in the "final suspension" of the remaining institutionalised apartheid measures where no compromise was possible. They rejected the race group model because they believed it would end in eternal confrontation, a non-solution and eternal non-negotiation.

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AIR FORCE'S LONG-TERM MODERNIZATION REQUIREMENTS ANALYZED

Pretoria ARMED FORCES in English Mar 87 pp 22, 23, 25, 27

[Article by Helmoed-Romer Heitman]

[Text]

A previous article addressed the matter of supplementing and then replacing our present fighter and attack forces with indigenously developed aircraft. This article will consider some other areas in which local development and/or production could address the requirements of the SAAF.

Where the complexity or the costs of such a project rule out local development and/or production, we could look to co-operative ventures with other countries facing similar armament procurement problems.

There are five basic areas which should be considered in this regard:

1. Helicopters;
2. Transport aircraft;
3. Maritime patrol aircraft;
4. Light aircraft;
5. Light aircraft (COIN) aircraft.

A sixth area would be that of a primary trainer, but the SAAF appears still to be happy with the Havard and there would not appear to be a shortage of these aircraft yet. Miscellaneous types such as VIP aircraft will never be needed in numbers which would justify local development or even simply licenced production, and are therefore not addressed here.

### **Helicopters**

The element most obviously demanding early attention is the helicopter fleet. There are six basic "mission packages" which can be identified within the overall helicopter fleet:

1. Attack;
2. Utility;
3. Assault transport;
4. Heavy lift;
5. Light naval;
6. Heavy naval;

### **Attack Helicopter**

The most urgent requirement is for a true attack helicopter. The modern attack helicopter is potentially one of the most flexible and effective means of attacking enemy mechanised forces. It offers excellent operational and tactical mobility as well as extreme battlefield agility/mobility, and combines these with the devastating punch of very large calibre HEAT warheads delivered accurately to the thinly protected sides and tops of armoured vehicles from well out of the range of most self-defence anti-aircraft weaponry. It is thus an ideal weapons system to employ against ad-

vancing enemy forces which have broken through — or have yet to encounter — own ground forces. Properly employed, the attack helicopter will be an ideal complement to our very mobile ground forces operating according to our doctrine of mobile, flexible operations.

Southern Africa is a region offering almost unlimited opportunities for the employment of attack helicopters in conventional or semi-conventional operations. This results largely from the very low force : space ratios which will characterise almost any clash in the region. Attack helicopters will therefore not be faced with the nearly continuous and deep belt of air defences which they would encounter in Europe. They will thus frequently be able to engage enemy forces from the flank or rear without having had to overfly his air defence assets. The thin ground coverage on both sides will also allow attack helicopters to be rearmed and refueled at "one-off" HAAs in the enemy's rear, thereby making extended attacks on enemy forces possible despite the generally short endurance of helicopters and the small number of ATGMs which they can carry.

The Army's new long-range artillery equipment suggests that a further development of the USAF "JAWS" concept to combine the employment of G-5, G-6 and Valkiri with attack helicopters and light attack aircraft could offer very promising results, the artillery taking on a major share of the air-defence suppression role in addition to engaging other targets.

The deep, open flanks of forces involved in conventional or semi-conventional operations in this region suggest further opportunities for the employment of attack helicopters. One would be immediate reaction to any enemy force detected while attempting to penetrate between friendly forces into our rear areas. Another might lie in hitting the forward ends of the enemy's lines of communication. Their extreme length will ensure that only limited air defence assets will be available to protect them, and will ensure that there will be a surfeit of soft-skin vehicles on which cannon fire and rockets can be usefully expended. The necessary intelligence could readily be provided by special forces "road watchers", or be derived from SAAF reconnaissance sorties. Concentration on the forward ends will allow the attack

helicopters to carry out the operation on internal fuel or with rearming and refueling at "one-off" HAAs. While this would not be a high priority mission for attack helicopters, it would usefully complement the operations of SAAF Fighters and attack aircraft "working" the enemy's lines of communication, allowing them to concentrate on the more distant sections.

An attack helicopter optimised for the conventional role will still have considerable potential in COIN operations, using cannon fire and unguided rockets and/or machine gun pods in place of the ATGWs. Even the ATGWs will have an application, being well suited to "bunker busting" and to the suppression of well concealed and protected anti-tank weapons or AAA being used against our ground forces in the course of external operations.

The attack helicopter developed for the SAAF will not need the same level of sophistication being built into those intended for operations in Europe. Not only will it be able to avoid many of the threats facing those machines, it will also not have to cope with the often very poor weather of that theatre. Nevertheless, we should look towards giving our attack helicopter at least the ability to deploy forward at night and to make its approach to the target area at first light, if not a full "night fighting" capability. Apart from its long-range ATGWs, the helicopter should also carry a cannon with which to engage softer targets and should be able to use unguided rockets. A twin-engine layout recommends itself from the viewpoints of power, damage absorption and safety considerations.

The attack helicopter should be kept to a size where it can be transported without disassembly (ie folding rotor blades and tail rotor mounting) in a C-160 or C-130 or, ideally, even in the Dakota successor (see below). This would facilitate the fast deployment and redeployment of attack helicopters to match operational requirements.

The overall design should make the maximum use of the Line Replaceable Unit (LRU) concept to ease the burden of forward maintenance and to facilitate the forward repair of even major damage. A damaged engine or transmission, for instance, should be replaceable in the

field. This concept should, of course, apply to all of the helicopter types.

### Utility Helicopter

The utility helicopter that will one day have to supplement and then replace the existing Alouette IIIs, should ideally be developed around the dynamic system of the attack helicopter. This will limit the additional work essentially to the development and production of a new fuselage suited to the roles of a utility helicopter — liaison, light transport, reconnaissance and armed support for counter-insurgency forces. While it would be possible to develop a single-engine helicopter for this role, there seems to be no reason for the additional complexity by comparison with simply taking over the twin-engine dynamic system of the attack helicopter. This would also result in a safer and more widely useful utility machine. The utility helicopter should ideally meet the same air-transportability requirement as the attack helicopter.

### Assault Transport

Second in urgency to the attack helicopter is the development of an assault transport to take over that role from the Pumas and later to replace them in the medium lift role. This would ideally be a helicopter in the Super Puma/Blackhawk class. In contrast to these helicopters, however, it should have a tail ramp to simplify cargo handling and to allow the transport of light vehicles — motorcycles, "tricycles", jeeps, etc — and heavy weapons for special forces elements being inserted in enemy or contested territory. A tail ramp will also allow cargo being delivered to forward elements to be delivered packed in a trailer which can be speedily unloaded and removed from the LZ — which might well also be "hot" on some occasions.

A tail ramp would also ideally suit this helicopter to the support of attack and assault helicopters from temporary or "one off" forward HAAs, allowing special arming and fueling trailers to be delivered. In some cases a "tricycle" could also be flown in to assist in moving these trailers around the rearming/refueling area. Where there is felt

to be a danger of interference by enemy aircraft despite the temporary nature of such a HAA, some light air-defence weaponry could also be conveniently delivered by such a helicopter.

Apart from its assault transport and medium lift roles, this helicopter would also be the basic means of transport for special forces elements operating against the enemy's rear areas. Such operations could involve the insertion of ATGW or mortar teams to ambush supply columns, deploying artillery elements and similar targets. Another example would be the insertion of motorcycle mounted reconnaissance, FAC or artillery spotting teams. A version more heavily armed and armoured than the assault transport, could also be developed for aircrew recovery and for the "hot" extraction of special forces elements. The helicopter will therefore have to offer good speed, agility and considerable range.

Ideally, the assault transport should be transportable in a C-130 or C-160 without any or with the minimum of disassembly. It will almost certainly be too large to be readily transportable in the Dakota successor (see below), but at least the possibility of transporting it this aircraft in a partially dismantled form, should be kept in view during the design stage.

### Heavy Lift Helicopter

Should we choose to develop a heavy lift helicopter, it will have to offer a considerable margin of cargo capacity in terms of both weight and volume over the assault transport if it is to justify the expense of its development and of taking up the "two engines" option. Particularly because the assault transport will offer considerably enhanced cargo capability over the Puma. We would therefore be looking at a helicopter closer in its capabilities to the large Sikorsky S-80 than our present Super Frelons. At a minimum we should look to a cargo lift of around 10 tonnes. The cargo compartment should obviously have a tail ramp and should be compatible in section and cargo handling equipment and fittings with those the Dakota successor (see below) to facilitate cargo transfer between them.

The heavy lift helicopter would be employed primarily in the role of logistic

support to fast-moving forces which have outstripped their road-bound supplies. It could also find a useful role in the quick deployment and redeployment of G-5s and their ammunition and, similarly, of AAA and SAMs. Other roles would include the insertion of light armoured vehicles into the enemy's rear areas; the delivery of fuel in bulk to such forces and to helicopters operating from forward areas; the speedy delivery of major components such as power-packs and gun barrels to ground forces; the delivery of engines and rotor blades to helicopters damaged in forward areas and the recovery of downed helicopters.

### **Naval Helicopters**

When the funds to expand the South African Navy become available, there will be a requirement for two types of naval helicopter. One will be a light helicopter for operation from frigates or corvettes, the other a heavier one for operation from small helicopter carriers and from shore bases. Both will need to be multi-role, all-weather aircraft.

The light naval helicopter should be developed from the basic utility helicopter, albeit with twin engines for safety. Its primary roles will be ASW, target acquisition and mid-course guidance for long-range anti-ship missiles, anti-infiltration patrols in conjunction with its parent ship, anti-FAC defence of its parent ship, and reconnaissance. Ideally, it should be able to operate autonomously in the ASW role, using sonobuoys or dunking sonar or both, rather than merely being a weapons delivery platform for its parent ship.

The medium naval helicopter should be developed from the assault transport, albeit perhaps with a different fuselage incorporating a boat hull. This would be a safety measure for an aircraft which will be operating far from its parent ship, and would also be valuable in the SAR role. This helicopter's primary roles would be essentially the same as those of the light naval helicopter, except that the anti-FAC defence role would only be taken on in the absence of a more suitable aircraft. An additional role would be the actual delivery of anti-ship missiles as opposed to merely providing over-the-horizon targeting. The medium helicopter would certainly have to be autonomous in the ASW role and would

ideally employ a combination of dunking sonar and sonobuoys. A secondary role would be that of vertrep from the carrier to its accompanying ships.

The actual vertrep role from RAS ships could be handled by a simpler derivative of the assault transport, which would have the same navigational equipment as the "full house" naval helicopter, but would lack the ASW and mid-course guidance equipment. A helicopter of this type would also offer a useful capability to insert special forces teams "over the beach", not having its cabin cluttered with electronics. It would also be ideally suited to SAR operations. On the other hand, using the standard medium naval helicopter in the vertrep role would endow the RAS ship with a good measure of ASW capability, if only in self-defence. The choice here will have to be taken largely on financial grounds, the "stripped down" vertrep helicopter naturally being considerably cheaper.

### **Helicopter Engines and Dynamic Systems**

Fortunately, we will be able to redress these requirements with a small number of engine/dynamic system combinations:

#### **Option 1**

Develop one turboshaft in the 1500 shp class and two dynamic systems, a "light system" using two of these engines and a "medium system" using three. The "light system" would power the attack, utility and light naval helicopters. The "medium system" would power the assault transport and heavy naval helicopters.

The disadvantages of this approach would lie in the utility helicopter perhaps being overpowered and too expensive for its roles — although it is not easy to visualise any helicopter pilot admitting that there is such a thing as an over-powered helicopter, and in that it would not readily allow for a heavy lift helicopter.

#### **Option 1a**

The same engine, but three dynamic systems, one of them built around only one engine and intended for the utility helicopter. This would result in a rather cheaper and simpler utility helicopter,

but only at the expense of having developed an additional dynamic system, which would reduce the economies of scale inherent in the basic option. The two- and three-engined systems would remain as above.

### Option 2

Develop two turboshafts, one of 1 500 and one of around 3 000 shp. The latter would then be used in two dynamic systems, one with two engines for the assault transport and heavy naval helicopters, and one with three engines for a heavy lift helicopter. The attack and utility helicopters would be powered by the 1 500 shp engine as in option 1 or 1a above.

This would be the most complex and expensive option, resulting in three or even four (1a) dynamic systems developed around two different engines. It would also, however, allow development of a heavy lift helicopter, and would result in simpler assault transport and heavy naval helicopters, as their dynamic system would now only have two engines rather than three.

### Selection

The choice will have to be made largely on the basis of technological and economic considerations. While the "two engines" option certainly would appear to be the most attractive from the user's viewpoint, its technological and economic demands may be too great to justify in the face of the many other demands on the available base of expertise and funds. The SAAF/SADF input to the decision process will have to centre on two questions:

1. The balance between the advantages of only having one engine type to service versus the advantages of two- rather than three-engined assault transport and heavy naval helicopters;
2. The priority attached to fielding a heavy lift helicopter.

### Transport Aircraft

In the area of transport aircraft, it would seem that we should be able to produce an aircraft to take over the role — note well, I do not say replace! — of the Dakota. Heavier aircraft in the

C-130/160 category do not offer much prospect of efficient local development or production. An additional light transport aircraft could be useful but not sufficiently so to justify its development in addition to the Dakota successor.

The Dakota successor should ideally be four-engined and must have a tail ramp and a cargo compartment compatible in width (if not full section) and in cargo handling equipment and fittings with those of the C-130/160. This will make it a true military transport and ease cargo transfer between long-range and battlefield or regional transports and will allow the transport of light and some medium vehicles. The tail ramp should be designed to allow air drop and LAPES delivery of heavy equipment. The aircraft will naturally also have to have a jump door on each side. The cargo compartment should be designed to take an attack helicopter without any disassembly and, if possible, an assault transport with the minimum of disassembly.

The requirement for four engines serves the dual purpose of engine redundancy in an aircraft intended to operate from forward semi-prepared airstrips and roads, and of keeping the engine development as simple as possible, as a less powerful turboprop of around 2 500 shp will then suffice.

The aircraft's range will have to allow non-stop missions over a distance of 1 600 km or more and unrefueled turn-arounds to any point on our borders from one of the major airbases, both with normal reserves. Its landing and take-off performance with full fuel and a payload of around 10 tonnes should be such that it can operate from semi-prepared strips of less than 1 000 m under hot and high conditions and from strips of around 500 m or less with a payload of around 5 tonnes.

Like the helicopters, the Dakota successor's design should be such that forward maintenance and repair are readily possible up to the level of major component (eg engine) replacement. The various design teams will have to liaise with the fuselage designer to ensure that components such as the propellers can be transported in the aircraft without disassembly. Failure to achieve this would seriously undermine its forward operating capability.

### **Derivatives**

Suitably equipped derivatives of this transport could also be employed in various EW and airborne command-post roles. There would also seem to be some potential for sales to civilian operators, both as a cargo aircraft and as a "feeder-liner".

### **Maritime Patrol**

The basic four-engined Dakota successor suggests itself as a replacement for both the Albatross and the "Dackleton" in the maritime patrol, SAR and EEZ surveillance roles. Given that the necessary electronics can be procured or developed, a further derivative of this basic aircraft could also give the SAAF a measure of ASW capability, albeit not at the long ranges which a P-3 or a Nimrod would allow.

### **Airships**

In this respect we should perhaps also be giving some serious consideration to the airship, which has in the past proven very successful in the maritime patrol and convoy escort roles. The US Navy, the French Navy and the US Coastguard have all recently conducted trials with airships and are expressing serious interest in the "rebirth" of the airship.

The airship's primary advantage in these roles lies in its efficient combination of speed, endurance on station and the ability to hover. Thus it is able to reach an operational area quickly, spend enough time on station to be effective, and effectively engage submarines, using dunking or towed-array sonar systems and sonobuoys, and delivering depth charges or torpedoes as required by the situation and in sufficient number to handle an extended engagement or successive engagements. In essence, it combines the most valuable ASW attributes of the patrol aircraft, the frigate and the ASW helicopter without suffering from their particular disadvantages. The airship can also lift a very powerful radar inside its envelope or even to use the skin to mount the elements of an even more powerful radar. Its capability in the surveillance role is unrivalled.

Another advantage to South Africa would be that a suitable airship would be less of a technology problem than a conventional maritime patrol aircraft of

anything approaching its capabilities, which would far outstrip those of the Dakota successor derivative outlined above. The key question would seem to be whether airships would remain effective under the sometimes very bad weather — specifically wind — conditions off our coasts. The indications seem to be that a properly designed and suitably powerful airship would. The other potential problem area could lie in obtaining helium in the necessary quantities.

### **Other Possible Roles**

The airship would also offer some interesting opportunities in the AWACS role, being able to take a very powerful radar aloft and keep it there for considerable periods of time at relatively low operating costs. Given that we were to develop an airship for the maritime and AWACS roles, we should also consider its potential in the long-range transport role. The airship would be slower than heavy transports and, in our form, might not lift as much, but it would be cheaper to develop and could deliver its load almost anywhere, entirely independent of airfield facilities.

### **Light Aircraft**

In the area of light aircraft, we will need to look towards supplementing and then replacing the Bosbok and the Kudu. Considerations of distances and safety would seem to suggest adopting a twin-engined layout for both roles, despite this going against the general trend for the AOP role at least. In that particular role, however, the twin-engined layout would also offer the considerable advantage of allowing a "glass nose" coupled with a high-wing layout such as that of the Partenavia Observer and several more recent and more exotic aircraft. This would give far better visibility than can be attained by any single-engine layout bar one with a "pusher" engine. The major disadvantage of a twin-engined layout in the AOP role would seem to be the greater size of the aircraft, which might outweigh the advantages.

The greater cost would, of course be a factor in both cases, although a twin-engined Kudu successor would certainly be more flexible in its employment. A twin-engined Kudu successor should also be able to find a profitable niche in

the civil market and would be a convenient multi-engine trainer, while the AOP variant would suggest itself as a suitable fisheries protection platform.

### Counter-Insurgency Aircraft

A Pucara type counter-insurgency aircraft could prove very valuable in the patrol, night patrol/spotter and CAS roles. In the latter role its endurance would allow the maintenance of a "cab rank" in critical areas, which would greatly reduce the time required to provide CAS by comparison with ground-bound jets. An aircraft of this type could also usefully complement maritime patrol aircraft and naval units in coastal anti-infiltration operation, having the fire-power and manoeuvrability lacking in the larger maritime patrol aircraft, the endurance lacking in helicopters and the speed lacking in surface vessels.

There would be two practical engine options open to us in the development of an aircraft of this type. If opt for the twin-engined approach for our future light aircraft, these could share a common basic turboprop in the 1 000 ehp class with this aircraft. The power output of this basic engine could then be fine-tuned to suit the particular aircraft type for which the particular version is intended. Alternatively, the COIN-attack aircraft could be designed around two engines derived from that developed for the transport. This would result in a rather more powerful aircraft than Pucara, even allowing for the engine being quite different from the baseline transport engine. Developing an engine specifically for the COIN attack aircraft would not be a practical proposition on economic, technological and maintenance grounds.

Given that we adopt a twin-engine layout for the two light aircraft types and use the same basic engine for the COIN attack aircraft, these three types might well also enjoy a good measure of airframe or at least airframe component commonality.

### Engines

The greatest difficulties facing us in the various programmes discussed in this and the previous article, seem likely to be encountered in the development of suitable engines. As in the case of the two engines needed for the Mirage and Impala successors, we should be able, at

a minimum, to reverse engineer the Puma engine to provide an initial engine for the attack and assault transports. The latter would then probably have to adopt a three-engined layout as suggested in Option 1 in the helicopter section of this article.

Expanding the SAAF to a realistic force level, and replacing aircraft as they reach the end of their useful service, will demand enormous amounts of money. Co-operative ventures with other countries needing similar aircraft would go a long way towards reducing this problem to manageable proportions. Such co-operation could take the form of co-operation on one or more projects and/or assigning one or more projects to each of the countries involved.

The latter approach might, however, well encounter problems with regard to the fighter programme because of reluctance by any of the countries to leave the fate of their new fighter entirely in the hands of the other partner or partners. The answer here may lie in simultaneous development of the fighter with participating countries taking responsibility for particular components but with overall development and actual production taking place in each country.

On the positive side, apart from greater autonomy in our defence, any projects of this nature would bring considerable spin-offs in the form of new technology and capabilities which can be applied elsewhere in the economy.

Later development could then concentrate on a more powerful — and more economical — fighter engine, probably a turbofan; the more powerful turboshaft for the heavy lift helicopter and a twin-engined development of the assault transport; and the turboprop for the Dakota successor. The engine suitable for the light aircraft types might be taken into licence production or developed en route to the transport's engine to gain the necessary experience.

Despite seeking to make the widest possible use of a small number of engine types, we would still need to produce six engines to power the primary aircraft types:

#### Turbojets:

1 500 kg thrust (Impala successor)

7 000 kg thrust (Mirage successor)  
(later a turbofan)

**Turboshafts:**

1 500 shp (attack, utility)  
3 000 shp (assault transport, heavy lift)

**Turboprops:**

1 000 shp (Bosbok/Kudu successors  
COIN attack aircraft)  
2 500 shp (Dakota successor)

This number of engines could be reduced by dropping the 3 000 shp turboshaft and the heavy lift helicopter. Deciding to stay with single-engined light aircraft could, by contrast, add a seventh engine type if the 1 000 shp engine needed by the COIN attack aircraft is deemed to be too powerful for such aircraft even in a downrated version.

**Conclusion**

While the absolute priority must go to the new fighter/attack aircraft, second and third places should fall to developing a true multi-role attack helicopter out of

the existing Alpha XH1 programme, and to developing a Puma successor. Only then can we turn to a Dakota successor, a light attack aircraft (COIN), Bosbok and Kudu successors and, perhaps, a heavy lift helicopter.

Fortunately several of the aircraft types needed by the SAAF would also find a place in several civil roles. The utility and medium helicopters, the light transport and the Dakota successor should all find useful niches — particularly if their purchase by civilian operators is encouraged by means such as low prices, maintenance support by the SAAF, and tax rebates. As these aircraft will have been optimised for the SAAF's particular and rather harsh conditions, they should also find a useful export market. Exports of specifically military aircraft types will be more difficult to secure, as these would face political opposition from many areas. The main hope in this regard would lie in co-operative ventures with other countries.

/9317  
CSO: 3400/465

SOUTH AFRICA

BRIEFS

DOCUMENT SAID TO DISCREDIT SADF--The minister of defense, General Magnus Malan, says documents released in Mozambique claiming that the South African Defense Force had broken the Nkomati Accord by aiding the RENAMO movement as part of a coordinated attempt to discredit the Defense Force in the eyes of South African people. Gen Malan said in Bloemfontein that there should be greater cooperation between the public and the authorities in the fight against terrorism and the threat to the people of South Africa. [Text] [Johannesburg Domestic Service in English 0500 GMT 1 Apr 87] /9599

MALAN SAYS SECURITY ABOVE POLITICS--The minister for defense, General Magnus Malan, says national interests and priorities, such as public security, should be kept out of politics. Gen Malan was speaking in Cape Town at the parade of the western province regiment. He said public security is not a matter for political debate. There are state agencies such as the SADF where community group loyalty is treasured above personal and political differences. Gen Malan said South Africa is faced with a general attack, and this attack should be repulsed by loyal South Africans. [Text] [Johannesburg Domestic Service in Afrikaans 1400 GMT 1 Apr 87] /9599

CUBANS PREVENT NAMIBIAN ELECTIONS--Johannesburg, 2 Apr (SAPA)--The minister of foreign affairs, Mr Pik Botha, says the presence of 40,000 Cuban troops north of the SWA/Namibian border providing assistance to SWAPO simply makes nonsense of any idea of free and fair elections in the territory, SABC radio news reports. Mr Botha was reacting in a statement to the request by the secretary general of the United Nations, Mr Perez de Cuellar, that South Africa should reconsider its link of a Cuban withdrawal with the implementation of Resolution 435. Mr Botha pointed out that one of the most important requirements of Resolution 435 was that there should be free and fair elections in the territory. [Text] [Johannesburg SAPA in English 0955 GMT 2 Apr 87] /9599

CSO: 3400/491

SOUTH AFRICA

AUTHOR ANALYSES NECKLACE PHENOMENON

Cape Town LEADERSHIP in English Volume 6 1987 Number One pp 39, 40, 42

[Article by Wessel Ebersohn]

[Text]

Ramatsimela Sekonya did not know where she was being taken. She was eighty years old and blind, and went with her executioners willingly and without fear. She knew the village so well that, despite her blindness, she must have been aware that they were leading her up the dry and rocky hillside behind the mud houses. She would have felt the morning's first warmth on her skin and known that the sun was rising. She probably did not know what they intended until the tyres were forced over her shoulders and they started pouring the petrol.

The old lady was one of more than 20 people, most of them elderly and infirm, from the tiny village of Makgadi in the Sekhukuni hills, to die by the necklace in just on 24 hours. In the period immediately before and after that day a further 11 aged members of the community were executed in the same way. Their crime, according to their killers, was that they were witches and had obstructed the forces of unity at work among the villagers.

The police arrested 180 murder suspects in the weeks that followed, most of them young, all of them from the same area and all convinced that they were liberating their people. These young people were not members of modern society. They had received little education and had grown to adulthood or sub-adulthood on ideas and beliefs that until recently had not changed for a 1 000 years. They lived in a world where witches brought lightning down to kill their enemies, where *sangomas* sought the responsibility for fatal accidents among members of the community and revenge for these was by burning or stoning: it was a world where no place was safe from the *abathakathi*, the witches and sorcerers.

Recently new words had entered the vocabulary of the young in Makgadi. Terms like liberation, comrade, oppression and necklace resounded with alien magic on young tongues and found a ready echo in intensely frus-

trated young minds. The new words had formed a strange amalgam with older, more deeply held beliefs, the responsibility for present frustrations was imputed to a far more ancient form of villainy. The witches of Sekhukhuneland were required to pay for the evils of a ruling group of which they could never be members and had known only as servants.

Sometime in September 1984 the first necklace victims started to appear in the area around the Eastern Cape town of Uitenhage. It was a phenomenon that was to be instantly successful, enthusiastic protagonists in townships throughout the country quickly adapting to the most singular and spectacular form of murder in living memory.

Neither the killers nor the victims, both almost exclusively black, came from only one part of the political spectrum. The victims especially were as varied as they were tragic. A few urban councillors paid with their lives for the anger of their constituents. Benjamin Kinikini, the mayor of Kwa Nobuhle township near Uitenhage, was burnt alive in his home with his entire family after demonstrating against the African National Congress in London. United Democratic Front and Azanian People's Organization members had their deaths blamed on each other by the police while spokesmen for the organizations themselves accused conservative vigilante groups who, in turn, lost members in the same way.

Policemen, both on duty and out of uniform, disappeared to be found later, burnt almost beyond recognition. A criminal who called himself Rambo paid for his crimes in the same way as the Sekhukhuneland witches, while a certain Sixololo of Khutsong died because he had been seen paying too many visits to the local police station.

A 73-year-old white man had both hands and feet hacked off before being set alight. Dozens of school children, some barely in their teens, were found guilty of crimes against the people that were hideous enough to warrant the ultimate penalty. Members of the black branch of the Nederduitse Hervormde Kerk complained that they were being forced to choose between life and paganism on the one hand, and the cross and the necklace on the other. An induna of Nkwana near Burgersfort went unresisting to his death after witch doctors had decided that, although he had not been anywhere near the accident, he was responsible for the deaths of three children who were crushed by a truck near his village.

Between September 1984 and the end of April 1985, at least 508 people were burnt to death by other members of the communities in which they lived. By July nearly 1 000 had been arrested for these crimes, clearly only a small proportion of the number involved in the killings.

During the two states of emergency a cloud of almost complete silence that continues to the present time descended on the townships, lightened only dimly by the dubious pronouncements of the Department of Information. Accurate figures are now impossible to assemble and it is likely that no one knows the number of people to have died in this way.

By the middle of 1986 more than 1 700 black-owned businesses, over 4 000 homes of more successful members of the black community, 28 churches, 54 halls, a few government offices and dozens of buses and cars had been destroyed. A black doctor who possesses a Mercedes Benz motor car took to parking it in Johannesburg in order to safeguard its condition and travels the township by bicycle to visit his patients.

Only one of the victims up to the present time has been white. The necklace is wholly an African phenomenon, both perpetrators and victims being black. It is the result of an inward turning aggression, an aggression that ignores the real enemy and looks inward to find the roots of weakness, deceit, disloyalty and disunity within the oppressed community itself. It is not difficult to see Freud's death wish at work here. The life force, continually frustrated, eventually finding no outlet for its dynamism, turns back on itself, seeking to destroy. Healthy aggression, the vital force that is the root of each species' survival, having been suppressed for so long, is directed inward to strike at any point where there is an available target.

The black South African has simply been required to sacrifice too much of himself in order to get through each day: he has suffered too many humiliations, great and small, too much governmental mendacity, too much unnecessary anxiety and, above all, he has seen too great a distance develop between himself and his African roots. It was Jung who taught us that we dare not sacrifice ourselves for the attainment of our objectives. His words, written half a century ago and referring specifically to the individual, seem at this point to be meant for the South African generality: "The aspect of themselves which human beings sacrifice in the attainment of a given objective in their lives is reborn and returns, knife in hand, to sacrifice that which sacrificed it." All the aspects of themselves that black South Africans have been forced to sacrifice, their human dignity, their freedom, their very masculinity and femininity, have bullet, rather than get blown into a thousand fragments, scattered over no-man's land. There have been Christian cults that denounced cremation because when at the last trump the dead shall rise there will be nothing left to rise if you have been burnt to ashes.

If a body has been burnt, no trace of identity that means anything to the ordinary citizen can be discerned.

Not even finger prints remain. It is perhaps for this reason that at Steenbok near Komatiport, two wizards were recently thrown into a bonfire. No trace of their wickedness was allowed to survive. In cases where the necklace itself was used some victims have pleaded to be killed if necessary, but to be spared the burning.

Many of the victims of township burnings were already dead by the time their bodies were set alight. The criminal who called himself Rambo had been shot before he was burnt. Patric Marenene, an Oudtshoorn community councillor, had been stoned, stabbed, hit and kicked. The fire and its eradication of identity are feared even if the victim is to die first.

Deep in the human subconscious lies the knowledge that fire purifies. Steel placed in a flame is tempered, its impurities consumed. Lesser materials are reduced to nothing more than a handful of ash. Only the finest survive the flame. The impure and the corrupt are destroyed.

The fire of the necklace is the fire of Africa's own purgatory. Africa is purging and punishing itself, driving its own life force inward upon itself, removing the ideological outsider, the informer, the vaccillator, the fearful, even the overly loving and generous, from its innermost soul, consigning them to the flames. Only the strong, unforgiving and unquestioning are retained.

African society is not the first to choose this sort of option. There is probably no society anywhere on earth that has never found it necessary to excise the outsider from its midst. Whether the conscious reason for purging a society is given as race, ideology, membership of an ethnic or class group, or whatever reason, will suffice to lull the sense of justice of a majority intent on destroying a minority, it is always the same phenomenon. The Nazis destroying the Jews, Stalin's security police or China's Red Brigade, driving real or imagined ideological foes into prison, the good people of Salem rooting out the witches that tormented them, Joe McCarthy cleaning America's entertainment and communications industries, the Ku Klux Klan saving white women from dangers they had never experienced, Hendrik van den Bergh removing the cancer from South African universities, the current authorities' list of detainees: all are part of the same determination to cleanse society of the outsider, the impure.

Jung called it a *collective infection*. Robert Ardrey found in it the triumph of the reptilian brain, drawing the conclusion that no group of people, whether a political party, a mob or the nation's cabinet is truly capable of thought. Only individuals think.

The working of the reptilian brain is far simpler than that of the human brain. Reptiles have no cerebral cortex. Their synaptic processes are occupied by only the simplest survival needs, the quest for food, procreation, territory, and the opportunity for flight. We too possess the evolutionary residue of the reptile's brain in the

form of the mid-brain. But original thinking is the province of the cortex.

The collective thought process, such as it is, filters out all originality, leaving only a certain lowest common denominator of all the individuals involved. What you are left with is something that approximates the working of the mid-brain, the reptilian residue. The members of political parties of every shade of opinion, social pressure groups, homogeneous communities, religious orders and revolutionary groupings all seem to hold precisely the same views. No one ever tells you that you have to trade in your cerebral cortex when you join the party.

Under circumstances of collective action the individual disappears. Only the partisan statement is seen to be of any worth, and then only the partisan statement that is altogether without qualification. These are the circumstances that generate profundities like that uttered by the wife of the country's shadow State President when she said: "We have matches and we have tyres and with our burning necklaces we will liberate our land." The enthusiasm with which her audience greeted this pronouncement was reminiscent of similar scenes at National Party rallies, the eagerness with which young cossacks took to their task of burning Jewish villages or the single mindedness of Arab folk heroes dynamiting French night clubs.

We have constructed a society in which neither blacks nor whites are completely themselves. The black man has sacrificed the assertive part of his nature while the white has sacrificed his instinct for elementary justice, too often denying that the humanity he possesses is held in common with all other human beings. These are the sort of sacrifices to which Jung referred. And, as he prophesied, they have returned, knife in hand, to sacrifice us all, just as we sacrificed them. Despite the bland pronouncements of government's information service, the purging will continue, possibly interrupted by quiet intervals, until the debt is paid.

Only in this century has the white man even tried to understand Africa and our understanding is still far short of being a decent introduction to the subject. We look at the circle of flame that engulfs the townships and see it as some special African madness that cannot affect us, deluding ourselves that we are impervious to the forces to which it owes its existence.

For myself, the key to such small understanding as I possess of the malady that troubles the soul of Africa is to be found in an incident that took place a quarter of a century ago in the old Cato Manor township on the ridge above Durban. A group of young policemen, too ignorant for such a task and too arrogant to understand the de-

gree of their ignorance, set about breaking the *korèr* stills that flourished throughout the township. A mob set upon them and all but one were killed.

Throughout the battle that cost the policemen their lives a cry was heard that was immediately taken up and echoed, again and again, until all other sounds were swamped by the one insistent demand: "Come back, Africa."

/13104  
CSO: 3400/467

## FIRST STAGE OF OLD CROSSROADS UPGRADE BEGINS

Cape Town CAPE TIMES in English 12 Mar 87 p 5

[Article by Diane Cassere]

**[Text]** THE bulldozers are back at Crossroads — but this time to give it a R9,25-million facelift.

This is the first stage of a planned three-part upgrading of Old Crossroads by the Provincial Administration's Office for Community Services to provide water sewers, street lights and tar roads for the area.

The project could eventually go to R30 million if the government releases the funds for stage two and three, which would entail creating more sites with water facilities and community buildings, such as schools and businesses. Sites have already been set aside for the latter.

The first stage, which will be completed in May, comprises putting in water-borne sewage, tar roads and street lights in a 30ha site which is roughly one-third of the Old Crossroads site. It is on the area which was devastated during the unrest and is still surrounded by barbed wire.

It will provide 1 347 stands on which residents will be invited to put their own structures.

"We will encourage them to put up a dwelling of a higher standard there, but people will be allowed to put up their own house," said Mr Sampie

Steenkamp, liaison officer for the Office for Community Services.

"Eventually there will be 5 000 similar sites at Crossroads."

Asked who will occupy the stands, Mr Steenkamp said his office was negotiating with the committees for the local squatters and the decision would be made in conjunction with the community.

Work is proceeding briskly at the Old Crossroads sites. Contracts for the work were given to several of the Cape's big construction firms and the many colours of the workers' hard hats identify them with their companies.

Hundreds of concrete toilets are standing side by side in the veld in pairs, each with a tap at the back. In the completed areas straw has been thrown to keep the Cape Flats sand at bay.

The stark order of the construction site is a startling contrast to the thousands of squatter shacks that stretch back along the sand dunes.

Mr Neil Ross, PFP Party Organizer and a divisional and city councillor, said yesterday that "anybody would welcome upgrading of the area".

"But will this eventually mean displacement of people? That is the pertinent question," he said.

Mrs Val Rose-Christie, head of the PFP's township monitoring committee, said there had been no removals as a result of the first stage of the plan.

"We will be monitoring it closely in the future," she added.

Mrs Maizie Madigani, an Old Crossroads resident who was walking across the building site with her children, said the community was glad about the advent of water-borne sewage and tap water.

"Now we can keep clean," she said.

SOUTH AFRICA

PHILOSOPHY, INFLUENCE OF BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS MOVEMENT REVIEWED

London AFRICA CONFIDENTIAL in English 4 Feb 87 pp 5-7

[Text]

Black consciousness, the political philosophy of black pride pioneered in South Africa by **Steve Biko**, who died in detention in 1977, has in recent years surrendered its place in the forefront of black radicalism. It has lost ground to the ideology of non-racialism based on the Freedom Charter, as espoused by the barely-legal *United Democratic Front* (UDF — AC Vol 28 No 2) and its spiritual genitor, the banned *African National Congress* (ANC — AC Vol 27 No 25).

But black consciousness leaders, including **Nkosi Molala** and **Saths Cooper**, respectively present and immediate past president of the *Azanian People's Organisation* (AZAPO), contend that black consciousness is stronger than is at first apparent. AZAPO is the chief protagonist of black consciousness today. There are grounds for taking their assertion seriously, for just as state action against black consciousness organisations in 1977 created an opening for the re-emergence of pro-ANC forces, known as charterists after their allegiance to the ANC Freedom Charter, so now the suppression of the UDF may drive radicals once more towards the philosophies of black consciousness and Africanism. The state is aware of this and deliberately plays off the black consciousness groups against UDF charterists. The authorities are widely thought to have circulated forged UDF leaflets encouraging UDF radicals to kill their black consciousness rivals. Such government 'dirty tricks' are classic tactics of divide and rule.

AZAPO has 86 branches throughout South Africa, compared to more than 700 organisations affiliated to the UDF. It was recently estimated to have 110,000 registered members. Molala, jailed for sabotage between 1976 and 1983, says of AZAPO 'we don't measure strength in terms of branches.'

We believe we have supporters who may not be members of branches.' It is certainly the case that black consciousness has permeated the beliefs of blacks who are not associated with AZAPO or any of its allies, and that it has even influenced the thinking of some pro-Freedom Charter organisations, creating a larger reservoir of potential support.

AZAPO is not the only organisation formally affiliated to black consciousness. It has an autonomous student wing, the *Azanian Students' Movement* (AZASM) headed by **Monde Ntswasa** of the University of Cape Town. AZASM claims a membership of 80,000 with 85 branches. The story of AZASM is instructive. It was formed in 1983 to replace the *Azanian Students' Organisation* (AZASO) which had originally been pro-black consciousness but which defected to the charterists after AZAPO President **Curtis Nkondo** had been unseated for trying to take AZAPO into the charterist camp. In late 1986 AZASO formalised its split from black consciousness, ridding itself of the word 'Azanian,' which carries Africanist and black consciousness overtones, and re-naming itself the *South African National Students' Congress*.

The AZAPO-AZASM axis has other allies in its struggle against its charterist rivals. They include the newly-formed CUSA-AZACTU federation of trade unions. The new federation, a rival to the pro-UDF *Congress of South African Trade Unions*, represents an amalgamation of the *Council of Trade Unions of South Africa* and the *Azanian Confederation of Trade Unions*. Its key officials are General Secretary **Piroshaw Camay** and First Assistant General Secretary **Pandelani Nefolovhodwe**. CUSA-AZACTU is in theory a major extension of black consciousness into the trade union field, but of the nearly 20 unions which comprise the new federation less than a quarter are judged by labour experts to be effective. CUSA-AZACTU looks like a paper tiger.

AZAPO itself is not a paper tiger. It dominates the National Forum, founded in 1983 as an alliance of 200 or more anti-government organisations ranging from, in the words of Saths Cooper, who has spent more than a quarter of his life in jail, the 'ultra-workerist' *Cape Action League* to the pro-Africanist *Azanian National Youth Unity*. Apart from opposition to the charterists, their sole common denominator is a commitment to socialism in some form or other. Since Biko's death, black consciousness has gradually evolved from a philosophy seeking to help blacks overcome psychological oppression to becoming a political movement championing socialism. 'The emphasis has changed', Molala explains. 'Today the emphasis is on the economic structure.'

The objective is to consolidate and understand what socialism is all about. To expose the iniquities of capitalism and to bring socialism into sharp focus as the only relevant solution.' The majority of blacks earn their living from the sale of their labour, so 'abolition of apartheid would not constitute a solution to their situation. If apartheid were abolished, black people would still have to contend with the problems of staff reductions, rising prices and (relatively) falling wages. Only an infinitesimal number of blacks will be able to enjoy the fruits of capitalism.' Hence class and race are mixed in the black consciousness analysis. Black consciousness intellectuals recognise that there is a white working class, and a black middle class whose future is crucial for black politics.

#### UDF VERSUS AZAPO

UDF militants have often clashed with AZAPO and other black consciousness activists. In Soweto, rival gangs have attacked each other with guns, knives and whips, causing dozens of deaths. AZAPO General Secretary **George Wauchope** has had his house firebombed and several members of his family killed by UDF supporters. Some AZAPO leaders believe that UDF thugs are acting on ANC instructions to wipe out their black rivals. UDF spokesman **Murphy Morobe** acknowledges that the UDF-AZAPO feud serves only the ends of the government, whose agents have almost certainly fuelled the vendetta by selective killings, such as that of prominent AZAPO supporter Dr **Fabian Ribeiro**.

Cooper denies that the emphasis on class and socialism can be attributed to Trotskyist influence emanating from AZAPO's ally, the Cape Action League. He points out that AZAPO moved decisively leftwards two years before the formation of the National Forum in 1983. Already in 1981 black consciousness adherents proclaimed that, in South Africa, race is the determinant of class and that the oppressed class is black. Or as one AZAPO leader told *Africa Confidential*, 'there are only two authentic South African ideologies: apartheid and black consciousness.' He pointedly excludes the multiracialism of the ANC from this definition.

AZAPO is handicapped by a shortage of funds. It obtains little from overseas, from membership subscriptions and from black businessmen. The main source of income is an annual donation from the *South African Council of Churches*.

Although black consciousness groups define themselves by reference to the Azanian People's Manifesto, they are also in the long tradition of what is known as 'Africanism'. Africanism is based on the belief that black people must liberate themselves, and that this may involve a rejection of non-African philosophies or structures. Hence some Africanists reject the ANC on the grounds that white and Marxist influence is inappropriate to the blacks' struggle to liberate themselves. Elements of Africanism have existed in black political debate for 100 years at least, and there has been an Africanist

influence in the ANC since its creation in 1912.

Modern left-wing Africanism is associated with the *Pan-Africanist Congress of Azania* (PAC) which broke away from the ANC in 1959 because it considered the ANC too Marxist but also insufficiently radical once it had adopted the 1955 Freedom Charter. The PAC's fundamental belief is that the land of South Africa — to be called Azania after its liberation — belongs to Africans. Throughout the 1960s the PAC was in the vanguard of radicalism, organising the Sharpeville demonstrations of 1963. Up to a quarter of Robben Island political prisoners are still PAC, and fiery PAC President **Zephania Mothopeng** still enjoys a considerable reputation in the townships despite having been in jail for 10 years.

The PAC's strategy differs from that of the ANC in the following key respects:

- The PAC believes that the vehicle for change in the country will be not the state but the people. Hence the PAC spurns the ANC strategy of establishing itself as a government in exile, although it also regards the ANC's success in this regard with some envy.
- On the armed struggle, whereas the ANC espouses selective violence, the PAC aims to increase the people's fighting capacity in order to leave the people the choice of tactics. The PAC's armed wing, the *Azanian People's Liberation Army* is much smaller than the ANC's *Umkhonto we Sizwe*.

Without doubt the ANC is the leading liberation movement. However growing violence in South Africa generally, and the state's efforts to suppress the ANC and the UDF in particular, could favourise a radical Africanist or black consciousness movement. The PAC itself, damaged by leadership disputes, looks incapable of a major revival, but there is a real possibility that another left-wing force, rejecting multiracialism and committed to violence, could take its place. The worse conditions become for blacks, the more compelling will be a populist creed of unrestrained warfare directed against all institutions of state. But that is largely in the hands of the government. The biggest blow it could deliver to radical Africanism would be to urban the ANC ●

/13104  
CSO: 3400/467

SOUTH AFRICA

BRIEFS

SABTA CRITICIZES TRANSPORT DEREGULATION--Pretoria--A White Paper deregulating transport has come under fire from the SA Black Taxi Association (Sabta), which says it would enable subsidised white bus companies to "hijack" the taxi market. Sabta national adviser James Chapman said the taxi industry's 45 000 black participants had "fought many years against all odds to develop (the market) for ourselves." He said white bus companies would be able to hijack the black transport sector because the White Paper did not provide for the simultaneous deregulation of the "monopolised" white bus companies, but afforded them even greater protection. He said government ignored recommendations by the National Transport Policy Study group on which Sabta served and accepted the all-white Competition Board's recommendations instead. "Sabta has made it clear it has much to offer in the process of economic reform, but the relationship with government would have to be one of partnership and not of master and servant," said Chapman.--Sapa [Text] [Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English 27 Mar 87 p 5] /9317

MBEKI TIPPED AS NEXT ANC LEADER--The ANC's chief publicist Thabo Mbeki has been tipped by a West German magazine as the movement's next leader. Dubbing 45-year-old Mbeki the "crown prince," Bonn's Afrika Post points out that jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela and the movement's president Oliver Tambo are both nearly 70. [Text] [Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English 27 Mar 87 p 5] /9317

CSO: 3400/487

SOUTH AFRICA

ACADEMIC TERMS IDEA OF BLACK CITY-STATES 'LUDICROUS'

MB290850 Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English 29 Mar 87 p 2

[Article by Lester Venter]

[Text] The Government's constitutional dream of independent black city states has been dismissed as "ludicrous" by a former top constitutional adviser and leading academic Professor Willie Breytenback.

Professor Breytenback, once part of the think-tank of Mr Chris Heunis's Department of Constitutional Development and Planning and an architext of the tri-cameral constitution, says that even if the idea were workable it could not accommodate even half the urban blacks.

The concept of black city states is an apartheid phoenix that has risen from the ashes of earlier Government dilemmas.

Mr F.W. de Clerk, chairman of the Ministers' Council, said this week that once the quandry of urban blacks was settled, South Africa's political problems would be solved.

State President Mr P.W. Botha asked this week if states such as Luxembourg or Monaco could be independent in Europe, why not Soweto, for example, in South Africa?

The government has made clear its desire to introduce such city-statal independence for urban blacks in terms of its "own affairs" concept--and to superimpose a Council of State on a national level where "general affairs" could be thrashed out.

Professor Breytenback says the defining characteristic of the European examples Mr Botha has in mind is that they are "self-generating, viable units" with a productive infrastructure and tax base.

He described South African black urban areas as "slaapstate"--dormitory townships that did little more than house workers for nearby industrial areas.

At most four black urban areas--Soweto, Natalspruit, Sebokeng and the Port Elizabeth/Uitenhage/Despatch region--had the administrative infrastructure and other requirements to be converted into independent states, according to Professor Breytenback.

This would leave the political future of the majority of urban blacks unsolved.

The concept of independent black city states had "loony" consequences, he said. One had to start thinking in terms of the State President of Soweto and the Republic of Mamelodi.

If Voortrekkerhoogte wanted "a major headache" and Minister of Defence General Magnus Malan wanted to lose sleep, they should start contemplating an independent Soweto with its own defence force, Professor Breytenback said.

Government's fix over black city states terms from its belated concession that not all blacks would--or could--accept homeland independence.

Until only recently the Government insisted that there was no permanency for blacks in "white South Africa"--hence, no political solution beyond local government was needed for them.

Then in the heady days of reform earlier this decade came the recognition of the unavoidable: millions of blacks were here to stay. The landmark decision was made that they could be considered South African citizens.

But citizens are entitled to political rights.

At this point, however, Government stymied itself with its adamant refusal to consider giving blacks a role in Parliament.

Re-enter the idea of black city states, for which former Cabinet Minister and later Nationalist rebel Mr Theo Gerdner was slated when he first mentioned it 10 years ago.

Government planners are now entranced with the idea, which seems to make sense in their apartheid framework: if blacks cannot or will not take independence in their homelands, give it to them where they are.

President P.W. Botha has recently also dropped strong hints that black urban elections are in the offing to find leaders with whom he can thrash out their concept of independence.

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SOUTH AFRICA

**SURVEY FINDS WHITES FAVOR GROUP AREAS ACT REPEAL**

MB271901 Johannesburg THE STAR in English 27 Mar 87 p 13

[Article by political reporter Colleen Ryan]

[Excerpt] Most white voters in six key urban constituencies are in favour of scrapping the Group Areas Act, opinion polls commissioned by THE STAR have revealed.

Support for repealing this controversial law was only one of the several surprising liberal views expressed by respondents, who were mainly supporters of the National Party.

Respondents were evenly split on whether the National Party had been in power too long while the largest number (44 percent) said the Government had not lived up to its reform promises.

The majority (44.6 percent) said they preferred a reformist National Party Government, but a substantial 35.4 percent favoured an all-race, all-party alliance of moderates in power. A total of 14.1 percent preferred a conservative pro-apartheid government.

Marketing & Media Research conducted six separate polls this month to determine voter trends and political views.

A total of 2,151 registered voters living in the relevant constituencies was questioned and in five of the seats the majority said they would vote for the National Party.

Constituencies polled were Bezuidenhout, Germiston District, Port Natal, Waterkloof, Randburg and Helderberg.

The Government has recently expressed firm opposition to scrapping the Group Areas Act, but still 51.2 percent of all respondents said it should be abolished, 37 percent said it should be retained and 11.9 percent were undecided.

Questioned more closely, 51.6 percent said people should live according to what they could afford, 17.5 percent favoured some mixed and some segregated areas, while 28.1 percent said the law should remain in force.

One startling finding was a widespread negative view of the tricameral parliament. Asked whether the tricameral system had been successful, 45.3 percent said no, 30.7 percent said yes, 23.9 percent did not know.

The survey revealed strong support for Foreign Affairs Minister Mr Pik Botha. Respondents were given a list of candidates and asked to choose the most likely State President in five years' time.

The top contenders were Mr Botha (31.7 percent), President Botha (22.4 percent), Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi (9 percent), Mr F.W. de Klerk (8 percent) and Dr Andries Treurnicht (4 percent).

Top presidential contender Mr Chris Heunis received only 3.1 percent support, while Dr Denis Worrall (whose name was added to the list by some respondents) received 2.5 percent support, and Mr Colin Eglin was given 1.9 percent.

Asked whether the NP had been in power too long, 43.4 percent said yes, 42.9 percent said no and 13.7 percent said they did not know.

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SOUTH AFRICA

INDEPENDENTS DENY OVERSEAS CAMPAIGN CONTRIBUTIONS

MB281143 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1142 GMT 28 Mar 87

[Text] Johannesburg, March 28, SAPA--The trio of independent candidates in the election today [words indistinct] at the state president, Mr P.W. Botha, for implying during an election speech in Ermelo last night their campaign was funded from overseas.

Dr Denis Worrall, former ambassador to Britain, said in a statement to SAPA he categorically denied insinuations by Mr Botha that the campaign was funded from abroad. Dr Worrall also denied receiving money for his Helderberg campaign from the Independents Reform Trust. "The Reform Trust was established by individual South Africans who were impressed with the point of view of the independents, and felt that it should be promoted nationally," he said. "All the money which has been received by the trust is being used for national newspaper advertisements. None of the money is available to the three independents in their constituencies."

Dr Worrall said he has welcomed and received money for his campaign but this has largely come from individuals within the Helderberg constituency, as well as from corporations and small business concerns. Every contribution has been received and deposited with a registered firm of chartered accountants and Dr Worrall was happy for all records being scrutinised by an auditor. [sentence as received] He said he would reveal the names of contributors to his campaign if they gave their consent and on condition other parties did the same.

Mr Wynand Malan, independent candidate for Randburg, told reporters at a hastily convened press conference in Johannesburg a clear distinction had to be drawn between the Reform Trust and the independents. The trust was put together by individual businessmen who were impressed with the political approach of the independents and wanted to publicise their view nationwide. The candidates were not involved in the formation of the trust or its actions and received no money from the fund for their campaigns. He could not make the names of the trustees known as they had not given their consent but their auditor had assured him there was no foreign money involved. His own election funds came from people within and around the Randburg constituency and a small number of cheques came from the rest of the country.

Mr Malan vowed that he would never take foreign money even if it was offered to him. His chartered accountant, Mr Louis Kruger, handed out a statement testifying that no money from overseas was involved in the campaign.

He said he would reveal the names of his donors only if they agreed to this. Some of them had, however, asked for their names to be withheld as they handle contracts for the state and semi-state organisations.

Mr Malan said the National Party received money from big business and multi-national companies and he wondered if that involved any foreign money. He was thankful for the attention the state president had given the independents but would have preferred him to address the political issues involved.

Mr Henry Wiggins, campaign manager for Dr Esther Lategan, said in a statement from Stellenbosch that her campaign was funded only by individuals living in Stellenbosch and by former University of Stellenbosch students. "No money has been received from anybody who does not have direct links with Stellenbosch, no money has been received from a company, no money has been received from overseas and no money has been received from a trust," the statement said.

"Fighting an election is costly. As an independent, Esther Lategan has to fight with a limited budget compared to the great amount of money which the governing party has in its coffers to use for tricks such as golden records."

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SOUTH AFRICA

NATAL/KWAZULU'S PROPOSED CONSTITUTION LINKED TO NATIONS'S FUTURE

Cape Town LEADERSHIP in English Volume 6, 1987 No 1 pp 58-61

[Article by Desmond Clarence]

[Text]

On April 3, 1986, delegates to the Natal/KwaZulu Indaba took their seats in the auditorium of the Durban City Hall with a sense of history in the making. The international and local Press corps, with their bright lights and television cameras, created an air of expectation, of excitement, but underneath was a realisation that this was the beginning of a unique happening, possibly with great potential for the future of South Africa.

The Indaba began amid daily newspaper reports of unrest throughout the country: the horror of necklaces, looting and violence. Yet here were men and women of goodwill, representing a wide spectrum of opinion from some 37 organisations, showing their willingness to debate and negotiate a new legislative dispensation, at second tier level, for the Natal/KwaZulu region; a dispensation which they believed would herald peace and stability. The experiment was unique: never before had South Africans of all colours and religions sat down to such a debate.

However, among the public that morning were people who didn't share these sentiments. As the procession left the City Hall, three memoranda from right-wing groups were handed to me, urging that the proceedings be stopped because it was wrong for people of different races to debate in this way.

But this was a challenge not to be missed. And in the weeks to come, despite sharp differences at times, delegates always tried to understand the other man's point of view and to compromise if possible.

The Indaba was the initiative of the then Natal Provincial Council and the KwaZulu government. Both authorities had realised the impossibility of efficiently, but separately, administrating two regions which were geographic-

ally and economically linked. After 11 years of negotiating, these two bodies had created the Joint Executive Authority which had statutory approval. The next step was a single legislature for the region.

To ensure that as wide a range of public opinion as possible was heard at the Indaba, invitations were sent to 47 organisations representing all shades of political opinion, commerce, industry, agriculture, municipal government and cultural bodies. The immediate response was 38 acceptances and nine refusals. Of the acceptances, 35 required full representation and three observer status. During the session, one organisation was added to the observers and one was given full representation.

Reasons for requesting observer status or refusing the invitation were revealing. The National Party was present as an observer, but refrained from participating because, through government, they would later have to judge the findings. Other observers felt that the political issues would cause division among their members no matter what decisions were reached.

Refusals came from the right and left. The former were against any debate across the colour line, while the latter felt that the Indaba was ill-timed and divisive. At first, this seemed a surprising attitude as the intention was to bring people together. However, it soon became clear that should the Indaba meet with any success it would be detrimental to the extreme left-wing desire for a total hand-over of power in a unitary state. Clearly, the philosophies of the Indaba and the radical left were diametrically opposed. On the one hand, the Indaba aimed to bring about peaceful change through negotiation while the radicals wanted the complete disruption of every facet of life in

South Africa as a means to their end.

Following the State President's lead that the country should move away from apartheid, the Indaba decided:

- To accept that the Natal/KwaZulu region was a single unit and that its second tier government should reflect this in its political structure;
- There was no desire to be sovereignly independent of South Africa;
- All people of the region should have the right to full political participation and effective representation;
- The acceptance of the democratic principles of freedom, equality, justice, the Rule of Law and access to the law, which meant that legislation based on racial discrimination must be abolished;
- The region must be founded upon a free economic system and the provision of equal opportunities for all people with provision for the protection of the rights of individuals and groups; and
- Legislative and administrative power should be devolved as much as possible.

In addition, it was agreed that all debate would be held *in camera* and all proceedings were considered confidential. This decision was essential to allow for free debate and compromise. The Press accepted these conditions and were issued weekly statements.

A rough pattern of likely proposals soon emerged. There was a strong movement, probably founded on past events, for a bill of rights. However, some delegates felt that a bill of rights did not go far enough because group rights were not automatically safeguarded. To provide the necessary protection, a constitution, which gave specific attention to group rights, and incorporated the bill of rights, was necessary.

In formulating the bill of rights, delegates were aware of conflicting opinions about the usefulness and validity of such documents. Some considered them a guarantee of justice for all, others felt they weren't worth the paper they were written on. As American Supreme Court Judge, Leonard Hand, once commented: "Liberty lies in the hearts of men. When it dies there, no constitution, no law, no court can save it." I believe the Indaba delegates voted for a bill of rights with the determination "to undergo the fatigue of supporting it in order to reap the blessings of freedom expected from it," as Thomas Paine said at the time of the adoption of the American constitution.

By July 10, the final touches were being put to the bill of rights. The fifth draft was on the table, guaranteeing, among other issues: equality before the law; personal liberty, except in certain specific circumstances such as lawful arrest; personal privacy; property ownership; and occupancy, educational, linguistic and religious rights. Freedoms guaranteed to individuals were: freedom of move-

ment, of conscience and religion, of opinion and expression, of association and of work and contract. All rights and freedoms were to be binding on the legislature and enforceable through the Supreme Court.

A sensitive issue during the bill of rights debate concerned property. The clause states: "Everyone has the right to lawfully own and occupy property anywhere in the Province." One delegation objected to the inclusion of the word "anywhere", but the majority wished to unequivocally show that the Group Areas Act should be abolished. And so the word was retained.

Education was another contentious matter. Some alleged that the strong emphasis in the bill of rights on non-discrimination on racial grounds could lead to the withdrawal of the right to mother tongue instruction. There is no fear of this, however. In the clause relating to educational rights, while all persons have the right to public education, the Province, in providing facilities, is specifically empowered to distinguish between persons on the grounds of language or sex.

Despite the decision to include the bill of rights in the constitution it was agreed that the bill should be published in advance, if only to maintain the Indaba's credibility. Too long a period of silence might have been interpreted by the media as lack of progress. Of course, there was always the danger of a misunderstanding if the bill appeared without the constitution, but that risk had to be taken.

With hindsight, the decision to publish was correct, as it caused considerable public interest. For example, there were some 196 000 requests for further copies (119 000 in English; 23 000 in Afrikaans and 54 000 in Zulu).

During the first three months, although the bill of rights was the main issue, preparations were being made for the major debate on the constitution. Each delegation was invited to submit a position paper outlining ideas for a possible constitution. Experts on constitutional law were also given time to address the Indaba. For example, one delegation briefed a senior advocate to present an analysis of the Canton system; Leon Louw and Francis Kendall, authors of *South Africa, The Solution*, presented their ideas for a possible constitution; Dr Clem Sunter, of the Anglo American Corporation, outlined possible scenarios for the future. And a morning was spent hearing the pleas from Messrs Van Tonder and Schuring and Mrs Hertzog for a *Boerestaat* consisting of the Transvaal, the Orange Free State and Northern Natal.

Each presentation broadened the background and understanding of the different approaches to the problem. Finally, the 70 members undertook an "educational" visit to SWA/Namibia as guests of the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance. Six ministers of the Transitional Government of National Unity gave addresses concentrating on how

they had dealt with such matters as the Group Areas Act, power sharing and multi-racial schools.

During this period, an Indaba constitution sub-committee considered all submissions and ideas before passing suggestions to the full Indaba. Three other sub-committees on education, economics and local government were following much the same process of gathering facts, opinions and attitudes.

The education sub-committee consisted of many experts, while the local government sub-committee was made up of two men well versed in the processes of the Natal Provincial Administration and the KwaZulu administration. Their task was to advise on how power could be devolved in the envisaged unitary province and also to suggest what changes would have to be made in rationalising the difference in the present powers delegated to the Natal Provincial Council and KwaZulu.

The constitution committees, after assessing all their information, presented five possible models. After weeks of debate, the final proposals were agreed on. At every turn great effort was put into reaching a compromise.

As chairman, I swung between elation, when it seemed that a stubborn point had been overcome, and depression when no possible solution was evident. Obviously, the final proposals were not the first choices of any delegations but a compromise which all who supported the proposals, felt was acceptable to their constituents. In the end, 82% voted in favour of the proposals, 9% abstained and 9% voted against. This latter group had found themselves able to accept compromise on many points but not on some they considered to be fundamental.

The proposal is for a two-chamber legislature with a governor, a prime minister, a provincial executive, standing committees, cultural councils, traditional authorities and an economic advisory council. The chambers are designed to ensure political participation by all adults, group protection and power sharing.

**The First Chamber:** This will consist of 100 members elected by voters on the principle of universal adult suffrage. The province will be divided into 15 constituencies and elections will be fought by political parties on the basis of proportional representation. Each party will submit a list of its candidates in decreasing order of preference. No voters' rolls need be prepared but voters must be able to indicate that they are bona fide residents of the province and South Africa citizens.

**The Second Chamber:** This will consist of 50 seats made up of five groups each with 10 members. The five groups are designated Afrikaans background, English background, African background, Asian background and the South African group. Voters will be

asked to voluntarily associate themselves with the group of their particular background and will be given a second vote to be exercised in electing the members of their group to the second chamber. Again the principle of proportional representation will be employed, but the province will be considered a single area.

Should a voter not fit into one of the first four groups, or if he does not wish to be classified in any way at all, he may then ally himself with the South African group. Obviously, this classification is very different from the present South African race classification of white, black, Asian or coloured. The English background group, for example, will conceivably cater for English speaking whites, coloureds and Indians. And likewise for the other groups.

- The Provincial Executive:** The executive will consist of the prime minister, who will be the leader of the majority party in the first chamber, and 10 or more other ministers. Half of the ministers will be appointed by the prime minister from his own party and the other half will be elected by an electoral college consisting of the elected members of all the other parties represented in both chambers. There must be a minimum of one minister from each group in the second chamber.
- The Standing Committees:** A standing committee of 15 members will be established for each executive portfolio. Members may be chosen from each chamber and whenever possible should include members from each represented political party. Each group in the second chamber will elect one member to a standing committee. Members from the first chamber will be elected by proportional representation but no party will be entitled to more than 60% of members.

Legislation will be initiated by the executive and passed to the appropriate standing committee of both chambers. If approved it will then be placed before the first chamber. If passed here it will move to the second chamber for consideration. To become law, all legislation must be passed by both chambers with a simple majority in each.

However, there is an exception. If proposed legislation is deemed detrimental to one of the background groups on the basis of language, religion or culture, a simple majority of the members of that particular group (six members) have an outright veto on the legislation. Should there be doubt as to whether or not legislation is detrimental, a decision can be sought via the Supreme Court. In addition, cultural councils will be constitutionally recognised and will be responsible for the protection, maintenance and promotion of the religious, language and cultural rights and interests of the particular background group they represent.

The special veto powers given to each background-group in the second chamber, together with the cultural councils and the rights given to individuals in the bill of rights, give full group protection in matters of language, culture and religion.

Also, the assurance given by proportional representation for the presence of minority parties in the first chamber, the five specified background groups in the second chamber and the composition of the standing committees, strongly encourage government by consensus and ensure a marked degree of power sharing.

Those delegations opposed to the proposals could not accept the concept of power sharing. Admittedly, it was not easy to obtain a simple definition of "equal power sharing", but from their submissions it was clear that nothing less than a veto by the particular background group on every piece of legislation, would suffice.

This attitude stems from a philosophy of enforced group participation in politics as opposed to free association. Consequently, it is not surprising this was unacceptable to the majority.

At issue now is whether these proposals will be accepted by government and allowed to work. Unquestionably, such a constitution must have Parliament's authorisation. There is also a wide discrepancy bet-

ween the present powers delegated to the KwaZulu government and the Natal Provincial Executive. These would have to be rationalised in a unitary province, and it is probable that neither administration would willingly forego powers it now enjoys.

The State President has publicly stated that separate residential areas must be retained in the region, but, as has been pointed out, it is crucial to the Indaba's bill of rights that the Group Areas Act is abolished. It is possible that government would never allow Natal/KwaZulu to take a "local option" which would make it different from the other Provinces.

There are many fundamental questions, such as the Group Areas Act and the degree of power sharing, which will have to be carefully weighed by the Minister of Planning and Constitutional Development. Although the Indaba proposals may not fit perfectly into government's perceptions of future developments, public response has been positive as they promise a stable and peaceful future form of government. Such a system of co-operative government could lessen present tensions and may even be the catalyst needed to remove sanctions.

*Desmond Clarence is chairman of the KwaZulu/Natal Indaba. He is a former principal of the University of Natal.*

/9317  
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NON-REVOLUTIONARY STRATEGY PROPOSED TO STEADILY UNRAVEL APARTHEID

Cape Town LEADERSHIP in English Volume 6, 1987 No 1 pp 73-77

[Article by Jonn Kane-Berman, director of SAIRR]

[Text]

It is too easy to express revulsion about apartheid. Getting rid of it is a more compelling and formidable job. It requires not only moral conviction, but also cool and calculating heads, dispassionate analysis, pragmatism and imagination rather than dogmatism and thorough planning. The objective should not be merely to smooth the rougher edges of apartheid, but to get rid of it completely.

From time to time there are calls for a South African De Gaulle, but the model is inapt because South Africa requires internal change, not decolonisation. King Juan Carlos of Spain, who liberalised his own country, would be a better model. At one stage it seemed that P W Botha might play such a role, but he has faltered badly. Can the National Party throw up a Juan Carlos? I don't know. Nevertheless, in Western Europe, Spain symbolises the hope that another right-wing, authoritarian country might also be able to transform itself into a liberal democracy. I want to suggest how this might happen.

For the past 10 years, South Africa has been in a state of violent but basically stable equilibrium. On the one hand, black resistance has not been powerful enough to overthrow government, while on the other, government has been unable finally to quell revolt. Black fury at the pitiless system of apartheid, and action against the oppressive machinery used to enforce it, has now climbed to a new and wider plateau, but violent equilibrium can continue for a long time, probably until the end of this century at least. Even if new explosions of violence occur, as they assuredly will, South Africa is not on the brink of revolution. The State is simply too powerful, black opposition too fragmented.

Fortunately, political violence is not the only dominating trend in South Africa. The other important trend is socio-economic reform. This is an objective process rather than a purposeful programme that government has undertaken. To put it another way, apartheid is not so much being dismantled as simply unravelled. With regard to security, government is not on the retreat; with regard to apartheid, it is, and can be made to retreat even further by tackling its soft underbelly.

Many political commentators take the view that the recent imposition of Press censorship signifies that reform has come to a halt. I doubt it. Reform is not something that government can turn on and off like a tap. It is less a matter of choice than a process of concession forced upon Pretoria by various kinds of pressure. The pressure will certainly not abate and the concessions will continue.

The security clampdown indicates that South Africa's Prague Spring is now over, and that government has reverted to type. The surprising thing is not that the clampdown was imposed at all, but that it was so long in coming. Former prime minister John Vorster would have acted to crush organisations like the UDF much earlier in the day. Probably one of the main reasons why South Africa enjoyed this Prague Spring, during which, despite restrictions, black opposition was able to flourish, was the restraining influence of its Western connections, particularly the Americans.

Why then the clampdown? Some people have argued that it is the death-throes of a dying regime. No such luck: good agitprop is usually poor analysis. One can advance four reasons:

- Getting tough with black resistance is a handy weapon against the right in the white general election that is to be held this year;
- Government intends to press ahead with various political and other initiatives in the townships and wants to minimise resistance to them;
- It also wants to nip in the bud the development of "alternative structures"; and
- American sanctions had already been imposed, so Pretoria decided that it might as well hang for a sheep as a lamb.

Socio-economic reform dates back to the early Seventies when the white labour surplus dried up and government had to allow the training of black people for skilled jobs. From this flowed the erosion of the industrial colour bar, the official recognition of black trades unions, the granting of freehold home ownership rights to blacks and the abolition of influx control.

These changes have occurred because apartheid has become unenforceable in these fields. Legislative reform has been a process of government catching up with what has been happening anyway. Employers who were short of skilled white workers simply trained blacks for the jobs, with the result that the laws against it increasingly became a dead letter. One senior minister recently said privately that companies had made a major contribution to change "when they just pressed ahead despite our silly job reservation laws".

So also with black trades unions: initially, government and the security police (and most employers) were very hostile to them, but after several years of futile attempts to emasculate and even crush them, a few pioneering employers stepped out of line and began negotiating with them. In due course, legislation was enacted recognising black unions as a fact of life.

The repeal of the pass laws in the middle of last year was also a case of Parliament bowing to reality, as black people in their hundreds of thousands simply moved to the cities regardless. In Cape Town, even the State-owned SA Transport Services ignored the pass laws and gave such people jobs illegally.

A similar process is now under way with the Group Areas Act: black people are increasingly moving into white suburbia while government turns a blind eye to this matter-of-fact disregard of its policy of residential segregation. Although government recently shelved an important report on the Act in an attempt to deprive right-wing parties of ammunition in the coming election, I suspect that the repeal of this infamous law is becoming less a matter of principle for government and more a matter of time.

Apartheid is becoming unenforceable for two main reasons. Firstly, blacks are simply ignoring it on an increasing scale. I don't mean overt defiance by political activists, but a much wider tendency among ordinary people, poor as well as rich. In the Western Cape, the families of migrant workers move to town to escape rural destitution; in Johannesburg, middle-income coloured and Indian families move into white blocks of flats because they're fed up with being on segregated waiting-lists for years on end; also in Johannesburg, and elsewhere, blacks who can afford housing in white middle-class suburbs find ways of obtaining it. White employers, landlords and estate agents are increasingly willing to co-operate, while the authorities seem less and less willing, for a variety of reasons, to intervene. Apartheid has always relied more on mass black submissiveness, however silently resentful, than on brute force. Again for a variety of reasons, the submissiveness is beginning to disappear.

The second main reason why apartheid is becoming unenforceable is that economic growth is undermining the archaic segregationist structures that were imposed on the economy in the pursuit of the Verwoerdian utopia. After all, as P W Botha himself pointed out a few years ago, even South Africa's arms industry is heavily dependent on black labour.

At the same time, reform is a domino process in which each change generates pressure for the next. As a senior minister put it recently: "We thought in the Fifties that we could stop the black urbanisation tide, but when we came to recognise that blacks are permanently with us a whole series of changes started." In other words, everything is inter-related: if you are going to invest money in training blacks for skilled jobs you can no longer treat them as only temporarily resident in the industrial centres. Moreover, the very fact that they now command certain skills means that it is no longer in the employer's interests simply to dismiss black workers who go on strike because of the cost and inconvenience of having to train replacements, so you have no choice but to try and prevent strikes by negotiating with black trades unions.

A new pressure is now building up. Black workers being promoted to senior jobs in which they will have the right to hire and fire other people are refusing to take these jobs unless they are allowed to move out of the townships and into white areas, for fear of being "necklaced" should they happen to fire black people and return home to the townships. More and more employers will therefore have little choice but to defy the Group Areas Act.

Apartheid, to put it another way, is like a huge onion. Each time you peel off a layer you expose the one under-

neath it. Eventually you get to the core, the Population Registration Act, which classifies everyone according to an officially-defined race group. The only way permanently to protect the core is not to peel anything off. A question which arises is why the process isn't faster and more decisive. Part of the answer is the absence of a worked-out reform programme. Secondly, while some civil servants would no doubt like to see change go faster, there are also bureaucratic interests whose jobs would be threatened by the disappearance of apartheid laws for them to enforce.

Thirdly, astonishing as it may seem in view of the recent violence and the despairing cries of its internal and external critics for government to "do something", there is no sense of urgency in Pretoria. Government sees instability as a by-product of reform, and is not only unalarmed by it, but some ministers privately admit that it will be with us for quite some years to come.

Nevertheless, reform will continue. The Reservation of Separate Amenities Act will go shortly, eventually the Group Areas Act will go as well, while educational desegregation will take place on an increasing scale.

Meanwhile, black submissiveness is beginning to disappear and black resistance to, and initiatives against, apartheid will grow. One should never underestimate the coercive power of the modern authoritarian state, but apartheid is ultimately doomed, because most black people reject it utterly.

As I have argued, I do not think that revolution can overthrow apartheid. It is often stated that all non-violent strategies against it have been exhausted or have failed. I disagree: in fact, I believe, their moment is only now arriving. This is because it is only now that the economic interdependence of black and white is reaching the point where the balance of power is shifting towards blacks.

One of the constituencies that is part of this shifting balance of power, and which has already been the focus of increased international attention, is business. For many years business was content to go along with apartheid as long as the going was good (resisting black unionisation, backing the disastrous 1983 constitution, for example), but is now a potentially important anti-apartheid constituency.

One way in which business can speed up the process of change is by adopting a strategy of "creative erosion" – that is, by applying its resources in such a way as to erode apartheid laws and practices and at the same time create something different in their place. Moreover, openings exist for foreign as well as indigenous companies to do this. Some have already started. Indeed,

some of the companies playing a leading role are the South African subsidiaries of multinationals.

One example of creative erosion is to assist black employees who wish to move out of black townships into white areas; another is by financing non-racial schools and so help to create a national momentum to break down educational apartheid.

Another area where the private sector could play an important role in eroding apartheid is housing. Government has finally begun to realise that the enormous black housing shortage must be reduced, but it needs the help of the private sector. Such help can be conditional: business could refuse to co-operate unless all new housing development was free of racial restrictions. It could also refuse any kind of co-operation unless government guaranteed that there would be no more prosecutions under the Group Areas Act or forced population removals.

A fourth possibility is to help erode the Land Acts, which form the basis of dividing South Africa into the white-designated area and the so-called homelands. The private sector could, for example, set up a foundation to enable black people to purchase land for agricultural purposes in the so-called white areas, presently forbidden. Land ownership in South Africa is massively distorted on racial lines, and the time to begin the necessary process of correction is now. Not only could low-interest loans be made available for black farmers to buy land, but the private sector could also contribute through agricultural training and loans for seeds, fertilisers, agricultural equipment, and the like. Obviously a programme like this would require detailed research and a feasibility study, but it is the kind of imaginative idea that the private sector needs to consider. If the legal obstacles to direct purchase of land by blacks prove insurmountable, business could think of circumventing the law by financing black-controlled white nominee companies.

The approach I am outlining goes beyond merely condemning apartheid and calling for its repeal. It implies the purposeful application of business resources to help bring about its *de facto* erosion, experience having shown that changes in the law follow changes on the ground more often than the reverse. In today's climate of growing moral and intellectual doubt about apartheid in Pretoria, such strategies have a greater chance of success than ever before. In fact, the climate is ripe for them.

Apart from working to erode apartheid in the wider society, business can act in its own sphere to tackle the major problem of material inequality in South Africa. Is it not possible to divert into housing programmes some of the cash which is now going into mergers and acquisi-

tions? Is it not also time for companies, in consultation with their employees, to start share participation schemes so that black workers become part-owners of companies in the private sector?

The big question that remains is whether socio-economic reform will spill over into the political field. Political apartheid is essentially a formula for whites to perpetuate their monopoly of formal political power and it will therefore be the last redoubt to fall, but government, in my view, will not be able to prevent spillover. As residential areas become increasingly desegregated, so segregated municipal government will become less and less sustainable. Once municipal government begins to be desegregated, so segregated voters' rolls at other levels of government will also become less sustainable.

There is a stark contradiction in South Africa now between an integrating economy and the political strait-jacket of segregation that government imposed on the country with the 1983 constitution.

Orthodox apartheid ideology is in fact already being eroded: the homelands are no longer seen as the sole channel for blacks to voice political aspirations, and government is now formally committed to bringing blacks into decision-making at the highest level. Precisely what this means has not been defined, but possibly the new national council which government wants to launch, initially as an advisory body, is seen as a potential multiracial executive. Government is also talking about setting up legislative assemblies for urban blacks with executive authorities attached to them.

All of these, of course, are not in fundamental contradiction to the apartheid policy, but are rather modifications, the new name for apartheid being "own affairs". It seems that government is groping towards a system in which each of the four official population groups will have its own legislative institutions for "own affairs" with some sort of structure to deal with matters of common interest at the top, which will be ultimately controlled by whites through the National Party. State President Botha will presumably use the white election to obtain a mandate for power-sharing with blacks, however ill-defined.

There is little chance that these constitutional plans will succeed because they will not secure the support of enough blacks to make them viable. In fact, government's ability to co-opt black political allies and impose unilateral constitutional reform is probably reaching the end of the road. The last major constitutional reform imposed on the country – the 1983 constitution – generated unprecedented violence because it sought to exclude blacks, and it is likely that attempts to impose further constitutional structures on blacks, even under

the protection of a state of emergency and a restricted Press, will likewise generate resistance.

Government has not yet discovered this for itself, so that the possibility of its making further futile attempts to impose constitutional structures cannot be ruled out. Regrettably, we must therefore expect a period in which government will lead the country up further political dead ends.

What options does this leave for others? Before dealing with this question it is appropriate to ask what sort of society one wants to see in South Africa at the end of the road. I would argue that it should be based on universal adult suffrage, the rule of law and a bill of rights outlawing apartheid and entrenching civil liberties. Its political institutions and processes should be such as to facilitate multiparty democracy. It should aim at full employment and the elimination of the huge racial discrepancy in material resources that is one of the major legacies of the apartheid system. There are huge shortages of houses and classrooms and jobs – just to name the main ones – in South Africa, and no post-apartheid government is going to find it easy to eliminate them.

The choice of means to secure these ends is vitally important. Strategies calculated to cripple the economy will not secure them. Nor will revolution.

So, given the fact that government's constitutional reform programme is grinding to a halt, what can others do? A great deal, I would argue. The first thing that needs to be recognised is that one should not wait for government, but should take the initiative.

In the first place, business can help to erode political apartheid at the municipal level. There is a small but growing number of white local authorities that want to get rid of segregated municipal government, and, despite appearances to the contrary, scores of black communities in different parts of the country have been involved over the past two years in negotiations with local business and government officials with a view to upgrading living conditions, heading off government removal plans, and so on. These embryonic talks, even though they are now obviously more difficult in the context of a state of emergency, could form the basis for wider negotiations, one key aim being to bring about the desegregation of local government.

Secondly, at provincial level the KwaZulu Natal Indaba, which deliberated for eight months, has produced a constitutional plan for non-racial second-tier government which has great promise.\* It is a political compromise that reconciles the black aspiration for majority rule with appropriate and legitimate mechanisms to protect minorities.

**They are:**

- A bill of rights outlawing racial discrimination;
- A prime minister and 10 other ministers;
- A bicameral legislature; and
- Universal adult suffrage, each voter having two votes, one for each chamber.

Those are the bare bones. The flesh that has been put on them is an imaginative blend of majoritarian principles with appropriate checks and balances to cater for minorities. The most important of these is in the structure and law-making procedures of the legislature.

The first chamber will have 100 members elected by proportional representation, the second, 50 members. Four sets of 10 of these will be for people of African, Afrikaans, Asian and English backgrounds, the remaining 10 being for people who don't wish to emphasise any particular background and simply regard themselves as South Africans. Everybody, irrespective of background, is entitled to vote in this category rather than in one of the other four.

Legislation will ordinarily require the consent of both chambers by simple majority. However, laws affecting the religious, language, or cultural rights of a particular group will also require the support of six of the 10 members of that group in the second chamber.

A veto is obviously a powerful weapon and a blanket veto would undermine majoritarian principles. This veto is justifiable, however, because its scope is limited and because it cannot be arbitrarily used. Thus it cannot be used for all legislation but only for specified types; a particular group cannot cast its veto if in so doing it adversely affects the rights of any other group; and it can be employed only if a simple majority of the second chamber as a whole agrees that the issue in question is one affecting the rights of the particular group seeking to employ its veto, disputes being referred to the courts, which will, of course, be bound by the bill of rights.

In other words, the checks and balances are themselves counterchecked and counterbalanced. This system of protecting the legitimate rights and interests – as opposed to unwarranted privileges – of minorities was absolutely vital to the successful outcome of the Indaba's deliberations. Equally important was that the background groups in the second chamber are based on voluntary association, which is, of course, completely contradictory to the system of compulsory racial classification that is the core of apartheid.

Local and provincial solutions do not pretend to be, nor are they, substitutes for a national political solution, which requires a national constitutional conference in which the full range of South African political opinion,

including political organisations now banned or whose leaders are in prison or in exile, would have to be able to participate freely. Such a conference must be the key objective, but the desegregation of government at lower levels could play an important part in bringing it about. The Indaba has proved that compromise across a pretty wide spectrum of opinion in South Africa is possible.

What role can the outside world play? Subsidiaries in South Africa of foreign companies can certainly play a role in encouraging negotiation by, for example, helping to finance and participate in workshops where parties from different parts of the country interested in municipal desegregation can compare notes and plan strategies. A groundswell movement to desegregate government at this level would be one possible outcome of such a workshop and it could actively be worked for. Another role companies could play is by promising to invest in Natal if the Indaba proposals are implemented.

Foreign companies, like local companies, have the advantage of being direct participants in South Africa. Foreign governments are one step removed, but they can also maximise their role. There are vast backlogs of facilities in Natal. For example, KwaZulu alone is short of 9 500 classrooms and has only two out of every three of the teachers it needs.

The Indaba was deeply conscious of the importance of making progress in reducing material inequalities. Western governments could make clear that if the Indaba's proposals were implemented they would be willing to put substantial development assistance into the province, so helping it eliminate these backlogs, repair the ravages of apartheid and make a fresh start.

One effect of this could well be that people in other parts of the country would see that political compromise and racial reconciliation bring tangible rewards. This would encourage them to follow suit and it might make more whites start thinking about a national constitutional conference.

It would be quite wrong to interpret my proposals as advocacy of gradualism. Black South Africa (and increasing numbers of whites) is crying out not for gradual change, but for the eradication of racism with all deliberate speed. Objectively speaking as well, that is what the country needs. The cruel reality that must courageously be faced is that apartheid is still too firmly entrenched for this to happen. Internal strategies or external interventions that ignore the power that Pretoria commands risk leading people into false dawns, which is also cruel. Given the reality to which I have referred, I have tried instead to delineate part of a strategy that essentially involves identifying, and then assailing, apartheid through its soft underbelly.

SOUTH AFRICA

COMMENTARY EMPHASIZES WEAPONS SELF-SUFFICIENCY

MB010526 Johannesburg Domestic Service in English 0500 GMT 1 Apr 87

[Station commentary]

[Text] The weapons boycott is one of the oldest forms of sanctions introduced against South Africa. Twenty-five years ago, the United States banned the supply of arms to South Africa that could be used according to the American definition, to enforce apartheid. Then, in 1963, came a United Nations ban on arms supplies to South Africa. This ban became mandatory in 1977, making the weapons boycott the most comprehensive sanctions action taken against South Africa up to that time or since then.

In addition to armaments sanctions constituting the most comprehensive and one of the oldest forms of sanctions against South Africa, it is also potentially the most damaging. If successful, the security of the nation and its very survival, would be at risk, at a time when there is an escalation of communist military activity to the north of us.

The arms boycott has, in actual fact, been neutralized to a large extent. This was confirmed once again in a television interview this week by the chairman of ARMSCOR [Armaments Development and Production Corporation], Commandant Piet Marais, who also gave an assurance that this would continue to be the case in the future. The success story of ARMSCOR is known. Not only has ARMSCOR, in close cooperation with the private sector, built up an armaments industry that can provide all the weapons reasonably required by the South African Defence Force but it has also become a major arms exporter. So much so that in the last financial year ARMSCOR was the biggest earner of foreign exchange for South Africa after the mining and agricultural sectors. In the manufacturing sector, ARMSCOR was the biggest earner of foreign exchange.

As far as self-sufficiency is concerned, statistics show that in the 1974-75 financial year ARMSCOR spent 70 percent of its budget abroad but 10 years later that figure had dropped to less than 15 percent. Today, South Africa is, in Commandant Marais's words, not dependent on any other country for her military preparedness. More specifically, Commandant Marais has reported, apropos of the recent decision by Israel not to conclude any new

military contracts with this country, that speculation that South Africa depended on Israel for her weaponry was greatly exaggerated. The chairman of ARMSCOR has also announced that a whole range of new armaments is on the drawing board because, as he has pointed out, it is essential not only to match Russian arms in use in Africa but to exceed the effectiveness of communist weapons systems. This is an objective which--given ARMSCOR's proud track record of the past decade and more--is well within its capacity to achieve.

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CSO: 3400/382

SOUTH AFRICA

COMMENTARY NOTES READINESS TO COOPERATE WITH NEIGHBORS

MB280914 Johannesburg International Service in English 0630 GMT 28 Mar 87

[Station commentary: "Cooperation"]

[Text] South Africa has never shied away from its responsibility to the southern African region. It has consistently stated and shown its willingness to cooperate with its neighbors in the best interests of all peoples in the subcontinent.

South African Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha has reiterated this stand. He said in Rustenburg, near Pretoria, this week that South Africa would continue to play a leading role in the search for solutions to problems in southern Africa. He believed that the countries of the region would eventually realize that the region's problems could not be resolved without South Africa's participation. He also reiterated the one important condition for South Africa's cooperation. The absolute assurance that neighboring states would not allow their countries to be used for the launching of terrorist attacks against South Africa.

The governments of the region will have to resolve their difficulties together. In order to do so, they need to reject the interference of foreign forces and terrorist organizations which have no interest in the peaceful resolution of problems. If nothing else, it has become clear over the past 2 and 1/2 years, during which time South Africa has experienced the most concerted onslaught against it from all quarters, it has been clearly demonstrated that South Africa is not going to succumb to the forces of revolution. It is not going up in flames or buckling under the effects of disinvestment and sanctions.

On the contrary, there is every indication that South Africa is not only withstanding the various facets of the onslaught but winning against them. South Africa's proud record of surmounting hostile action against it remains firmly intact. Its neighbors would do well to recognize this and the futility in giving sanctuary to South Africa's enemies from which there is nothing to be gained. On the other hand, there is much to be gained from cooperation and peaceful coexistence with South Africa.

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CSO: 3400/382

SOUTH AFRICA

COMMENTARY VIEWS SAVIMBI'S OFFER TO OPEN BENGUELA

MB300802 Johannesburg International Service in English 0630 GMT 30 Mar 87

[Station commentary]

[Text] The Benguela railway line that runs through central Angola is of great potential importance. If fully operational, Benguela is the shortest and quickest route for the copper, cobalt, diamonds, and other exports of the mineral-rich Shava Province in Zaire. It also provides Zambia and Zimbabwe with their only direct link with an Atlantic Ocean harbor.

The announcement by the leader of the UNITA movement in Angola, Dr Jonas Savimbi, that he will now allow the use of Benguela for nonmilitary purposes will accordingly be welcomed by these countries as a means of reducing their exceptionally heavy transport dependence on South Africa. It could, however, take some years before the harbor facilities and the railway itself are upgraded and made fully operational after a decade in which Benguela was shut down. Also, exporting countries will probably wish to assess the security rating of Benguela over a lengthy period before using the line with confidence.

It is unlikely therefore that Dr Savimbi's announcement will change the transport patterns of southern Africa in the short term. The announcement opens the prospects of the Angolan armed forces easing off on military contacts with UNITA and in particular abandoning their regular plans for attacking Jamba, the UNITA headquarters. Any major offensive against UNITA could well force Dr Savimbi to withdraw his offer on Benguela. The fact that Dr Savimbi is able to dictate to the Angolan Government on whether a major transport route is opened or remains closed is significant. This, together with the growing unpopularity of the MPLA government and its total reliance on communist support from abroad, demonstrates once again that until the government negotiates, with Dr Savimbi and include UNITA in a national and truly representative government, peace will never return to Angola.

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CSO: 3400/382

SOUTH AFRICA

COMMENTARY NOTES COMMUNIST DOMINATION OF ANC

MB270919 Johannesburg International Service in English 0630 GMT 27 Mar 87

[Station commentary: "The Radical Onslaught Against South Africa"]

[Text] The point that critics fail to grasp about South Africa's stand of negotiating with the ANC only if it renounces violence is that the ANC is not its own master, but is the instrument for achieving the will of others. President P.W. Botha stated that very clearly at a rural political meeting in the Transvaal. He said: The ANC is not the danger, but what lies behind it. This is what we are fighting. The main threat to the country's security, he said, was the SACP.

It is the SACP, which has been described as the one most fiercely loyal to Moscow, that directs the ANC. It is known that 25 of the 30-member Politburo of the ANC are members of the SACP.

The use of revolutionary force is the only means whereby international communism makes its advances. No communist regime has even been brought about by democratic means. Various spokesmen for the ANC have made it clear that the only thing the organization is prepared to negotiate with the South African Government is the transfer of power.

This was spelled out by Mrs Winnie Mandela, wife of the imprisoned ANC leader, Nelson Mandela, in an interview with TIME magazine 2 months ago. She said: The black man does not have the word reform in his vocabulary. Blacks in this country are talking about the transition of power to the majority. The government will not release Mandela because he will negotiate only on a transfer of power. This stance speaks of only one alternative, revolutionary violence.

In short, the conflict in South Africa is not between white and black, but between Western democracy and communism. The irony is that, in some Western nations, the tool of international communism, the ANC, has considerable support.

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CSO: 3400/382

SOUTH AFRICA

BRIEFS

STELLENBOSCH ACADEMICS SUPPORT DISSIDENTS--The Stellenbosch revolt against the National Party leadership has taken a sensational new turn. Three hundred and one academics have signed a petition in support of the original group of twenty-eight who urged the speeding up of the reform process. The move means that more than half of the academic staff in Stellenbosch now supports the dissident academics whose stand has been derided by Nationalist politicians and their newspapers. It appears from the petition that the university staff have been stung into action by the way in which the Nationalist press and others have been trying to misuse statements of the original rebel group for party political aims. [Text] [Umtata Capital Radio in English 1600 GMT 28 Mar 87 MB] /6662

CSO: 3400/382

SOUTH AFRICA

BELGIAN FIRM REPORTEDLY EVADING ARMS SANCTIONS

Paris THE INDIAN OCEAN NEWSLETTER in English 14 Mar 87 p 2

[Text] According to a report by the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions a number of Belgian firms have been violating the United Nations embargo on supplying arms to South Africa. For example, in June 1985 the Gechem company which is a subsidiary of the munitions makers Poudrieres de Belgique, sent 38,000 mortar bombs to South Africa, the ICFTU said this week. An Antwerp-based firm, Transammo, acted as broker in 1984 when the South African Nimrod company ordered grenades from the Belgian manufacturers Mercar.

In addition, in spite of the decision taken by the member states of the European Economic Community last September to end imports of South African steel, except for the completion of contracts already signed, such imports increased last year, and sources within the EEC said those recorded at the beginning of 1987 are still higher than for the corresponding period of 1986. Under the European crackdown South Africa should only have exported 281,190 tonnes of steel to EEC countries when in fact the figure was 370,000 tonnes. Contracts which accompanied applications for five year trade licences were dated July or August 1986 in many cases. Although there is no proof, this raises the question of whether some of the contracts were pre-dated. In any event, if the September 1986 agreement had taken immediate effect, South African exports of steel to European countries should not have exceeded 100,000 tonnes.

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CSO: 3400/471

SOUTH AFRICA

BUSINESS LEADER DISCUSSES ROLE OF BUSINESS IN POLITICS, MEDIA

Cape Town LEADERSHIP in English Volume 6, 1987 Number One pp 53-54

[Interview with Gordon Waddell by Hugh Murray; date and place not given]

[Text]

*Gordon Herbert Waddell retires shortly as chairman of Johannesburg Consolidated Investments (Johnnies) and as an executive director of the Anglo American Corporation.*

*One of South Africa's most incisive and influential businessmen, the Scottish born Waddell has played an enormous part in the affairs of his country of adoption. He was Member of Parliament for Johannesburg North from 1974 to 1977 and was, for a number of years, a co-opted member of the Progressive Federal Party's executive committee.*

*Waddell earned a BA at Cambridge University and an MBA from Stanford University in the United States.*

*An intensely competitive person, he played rugby for Britain and Scotland in the early Sixties.*

*A cryptic fact sheet on Waddell states that he received his first pay packet of 13 shillings a week in the Royal Marines. Today he controls R2 120,4m in assets and leads a team of some 80 000.*

*His management style is described as "entrepreneurial, combined with prudence". His personal best achievement is described as "always beating Oxford". His biggest disappointment he lists as failure to beat England at rugby.*

*He concedes openly the mentorship of Harry Oppenheimer, who he also regards as the businessman who impressed him most.*

*His favourite companies outside Johnnies and the Anglo American are South African Breweries (of which he has just resigned as chairman), and Liberty Life.*

*His philosophy? "You can only do your best—but do just that."*

*Gordon Waddell is certainly a man of presence. Some years ago when Leadership publisher and editor, Hugh Murray, asked him for an interview on his approach to business and politics, Waddell rejoined: "I think your readers would find it much more interesting if you interviewed Julian Ogilvie Thompson. After all, he will certainly be Anglo's next chairman."*

*So much for all that speculation that Waddell was bitterly disappointed by the affirmation of Gavin Relly that Ogilvie Thompson would most likely succeed him as chairman of the Anglo American. Other speculation that Waddell dealt with through sheer style and management ability, was that his marriage into the Oppenheimer dynasty had secured his position. If anything, his career accelerated after his divorce from Mary Oppenheimer in 1971 and his marriage two years later to Kathy Gallagher.*

*There are very few who would gainsay the description of Waddell as a blunt man. In him, however, that quality has an unusual charm. His lack of pomposity gives it a welcome character of straightforwardness and fundamental honesty.*

*There has been speculation that Waddell might move to the top slot at Guinness in the UK. If that speculation amounts to anything it should please him, because on Waddell's list of favourite foreign companies is included Distillers Corporation, the owners of Guinness.*

*Waddell has long been regarded as the most powerful figure on SA's English Press scene. Through JCI he has controlled massive holdings in both the Argus and South African Associated Newspapers'*

*groups. He is passionate about the Press, but has never been known to interfere with an editor or the prerogatives of an editor's stewardship. In a wide-ranging interview with Hugh Murray shortly after announcing his retirement as chairman of JCI, he did, however, concede SAAN's major shareholders should have intervened in the management of the company far earlier than they did. With refreshing frankness, and with the wisdom of hindsight, he believes the closure of the Rand Daily Mail could have been avoided and was, in fact, a mistake.*

**Murray:** When you started your career with the Anglo American Corporation in 1966 the country was in a very different state to that prevailing now. Speaking as a businessman, what are the differences?

**Waddell:** When I came here in 1965, I think there was a reasonable basis to have a much more optimistic view of the future than perhaps there is now. For a variety of reasons, South Africa has become more and more insular in its attitude and the attitude of the government has become very defensive. That must affect business and the way business looks at things. The majority of businessmen are interested in the *status quo*. On the other hand, there are other highly intelligent businessmen who do look down the road. But, I think, private enterprise, at best, has been treading water, and, at worst, losing ground.

**What has been the effect on business of its liaison with government through such events as the much-vaunted Carlton Conference and its sequels?**

I think it was worthwhile in the context of the time, to take the chance that something would come out of the first Carlton Conference. The danger for business is that in having such contact with government it is inevitably perceived as going along with it. I do not think all businessmen are necessarily good politicians. I think they ought to be very careful because their points of influence on a government such as ours are necessarily limited. The most important thing, to my mind, that big business could have done, would have been to finance an alternative government. But, I think, the conferences we have seen wound up as public relations seminars for government. I have never been to any of these conferences, but they are

obviously structured and organised in a way which makes it very difficult for there to be genuine debate. Most business people feel restrained in addressing the Office of the State President or the Cabinet as a body. They have a respect for those things. But I am worried about judging on this. It's easy to diagnose the threat and the risk of co-option. It is not so easy to formulate an alternative plan and put forward an alternative.

**Why has a fundamental rift arisen between private enterprise and government?**

Government wanted to enlist the backing of business to put the economy into compartments to support its policy of decentralisation. Business went there trying to promote the idea of private enterprise. That approach, and government policy are actually inimical; so this disillusionment on both sides, which is very sad, was bound to happen. The other problem is that South Africa is an international economy – a very open economy. Government does not understand this, or its importance. The interest of business is to have a framework structured by government which allows it to create employment, to pay decent wages, and to make profits. But you can't do that in isolation. You can't have a bureaucratic totalitarian system and ask business to flourish and prosper any more than you can ask art to do the same.

**A great many people will interpret your resignation as executive chairman of JCI as your ultimate identification with that group which believes South Africa has no real future.**

I can't deny that people will think that way. I think it is actually nonsense. I have remained with a very great confidence and optimism about the country in regard to both its human and material assets. Where I have become disillusioned and very depressed, is that I do not believe the present regime is capable of making the quantum leap to realise that.

Until we have reasonable stability and peace we are going to become more and more of a pariah. You have got to let the political distribution of power reflect the demography of the country.

To my mind, I think the answer is one man, one vote. But there may be other ways of achieving it. I am not sure that you can solve this thing in the late Eighties and I would have thought that the years which lie ahead are quite gloomy. I can't deny that my view of politics in this country was a factor in my decision to retire. But I have never made any secret of the fact that I thought that anybody who held the office of chairman of Johnnies should have a limited period of office. I always said that should be seven years, and I will have done six and a half when I go. I will also be 50 years old in April.

**Why seven years? Does management of a company like Johnnies become stultified over a longer period?**

I hold to that view. I think that people put a style and philosophy into a business when they are leading it, and it may be appropriate for a period. But circumstances always change. I like to lend to banks rather than borrow from them. But I have been around long enough and looked at the success of other people sufficiently to realise that there are times when you have to spend money. You have to create business to create employment. Not that I am not keen on doing this. But you don't want a business to get too settled in its ways. So, I think it is often desirable, both for the company and oneself, to have a change.

**Many market analysts believe you have pumped JCI to a point of peak performance and that yours will be an extremely difficult act to follow.**

I think that is absolute nonsense. When I go on June 30, I will leave behind me extremely competent and able people in charge of all the major affairs of Johnnies. There is a depth of management here in Johnnies – and now I may be biased – which is much greater and better than, for instance, the Anglo American. I use that example because that is the only other corporation I know. I would be very surprised if Johnnies did not continue to outperform its direct competitors for the next two years, and it is difficult for me to see beyond that.

Your position in relation to Argus and SAAN has been one of enormous influence. Many are giving you credit for having assisted in SAAN's dramatic turnaround. That there are others who would say there should never have been the need for that kind of turnaround, goes without saying. Nevertheless, I would like to hear you characterise your role in relation to the South African Press.

I am a tremendous believer in the freedom of the Press, and I define that as "the freedom to disagree with me". To quote one example, the editor of the *Sunday Times* and I disagreed absolutely and fundamentally over the 1983 referendum on the constitution. But that is his right, as it is my right to disagree with him. I think in any country the freedom of the Press is one of those bastions which cannot be allowed to go without the greatest possible defence.

I would think that those who have been in charge of the Anglo American in my time, and obviously I am talking about Mr Oppenheimer and Mr Reilly, would both go along with that. My greatest regret is that for a variety of reasons SAAN was, quite frankly, badly managed for a long period of time. I have a very clear conviction that if we had been able, or been allowed, to put in position or appoint, a lot earlier, the management which was put into SAAN very late in the day, I think the *Rand Daily Mail* would still be alive and well.

**Where you sensitive to accusations of monopoly and control? Is that why you did not interfere?**

Yes, the sensitivity lay in relation to the accusation of control. I think it is a matter which I always argued against. To be fair, you have to accept the majority point of view. But you really shouldn't allow a newspaper business, or any other business, to be conducted by a management which is playing with other people's money. The shareholders should be represented fairly on the board. They should pick a management, back it, or throw it out. JCI was only able to get a position, where it was represented on the board, when the Bailey Trust lessened its holding in SAAN. We have been attacked many times on the basis that the English

language Press is a monopoly. That is nonsense and the most recent rationalisation between Argus and SAAN has been of great benefit to both companies. And I think it is of immense benefit to everybody who lives in South Africa.

**But don't you now have a hybrid English Press, dominated by Argus management and printing structures? Argus and SAAN have always had a fundamentally different approach, with SAAN probably running the liveliest newspapers and magazines in the country.**

There are clearly differences of emphasis in the editorial style. I think both could be very successful. It was not the intention, in rationalising certain activities which tended to give more to Argus than SAAN, ever to allow one company to rule the editorial policy of the other. The basis of the rationalisation was more a reflection of the health of the two companies at the time it took place. There are two things here that matter. One is the freedom of editorial policy, and the other is the need to earn sufficient profits.

**Do you see a future for the Press, in view of the regulations?**

I am extremely worried about whether people of the calibre of the past will now go into the Fourth Estate as a profession in view of the Emergency, and the way government has reacted to it. One can only hope that another incoming government, of whatever nature it may be, may have won a popular election and be concerned about having a free press. One can only hope.

**In giving up your job at JCI, are you giving up the influence that you have enjoyed in the Press?**

Absolutely, inevitably. I think my influence has been greatly exaggerated. I think people always cast about for a sort of totem which they can either blame or praise, and I think I was cast into that category. But when you go, you go.

**Many will accept your credentials. But there will always be a black mark on your career. You will be seen, in the nature of history, as one of those who participated in the decision to close the *Rand Daily Mail*.**

Yes, it is a matter of the greatest possible regret. I say with great conviction that it was unnecessary, and I say that because I have no doubt that the *Rand Daily Mail*, run by the present management of SAAN, would not have died. To the extent that I have failed, given that I had a voice and a say which could, if all of us had agreed to move earlier to instal that management, I must accept a degree of guilt. I think the problem with SAAN was always seen as the style of the editors. I don't think the problem lay there at all. The problem lay with the management of the business as opposed to the editorial side. To the extent that I failed to carry that point of view, then I must have been guilty.

**What was your point of view at the time?**

I don't think it was nearly so clear to me. On that I must be absolutely fair. But what I was clear about is that you must never have a board that doesn't represent the shareholders. That seems to me to be a very dangerous set of circumstances. And that is what happened to SAAN.

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CSO: 3400/471

URBAN FOUNDATION DIRECTOR DISCUSSES ROLE OF BUSINESS IN REFORM

Cape Town A WAY OF LIFE: A LEADERSHIP CORPORATE PUBLICATION in English  
Mar 87 pp 58-60

[Interview with Urban Foundation executive director Jan Steyn; date and place not given]

[Text]

*The Urban Foundation, under its astute executive director, Jan Steyn, is in the forefront of change in South Africa. A former judge, Steyn straddles the divides between government, business and the black, coloured and Asian communities. In this interview with Leadership, he talks about the unique role of business in the reform process.*

**Leadership:** A Canadian MP who visited South Africa recently remarked that the business community here was probably the only one in the world which was to the left of government. Is that fair comment?

Steyn: I think that is fair comment. Things have certainly changed fundamentally since those days in 1976 when the former Prime Minister, John Vorster, laid down his famous dictum that – and I paraphrase – business should stick to business and leave politics to the politicians. Since then there has been greater activism, in the best sense of the word, among the business community. The failure of Verwoerdian apartheid had become clear by 1976 to all thinking South Africans. The business community appreciated that unless it made some contribution towards changing fundamentally apartheid policies, the future stability of this country would be very seriously jeopardised. The new spirit was also stimulated by the Wiehahn and Riekert reports recommending the liberalisation of labour relations. State President Botha's

Carlton conference with business leaders also encouraged the business community. In fact, the 1983 referendum saw the business community emerging as a kind of third force in our political life. Since 1983, and particularly in view of the deterioration of the situation in South Africa, there has been an ever-increasing involvement and awareness. This can be seen in different forms. One form is a higher profile adopted by business leadership through organised commerce and industry. For example, there was the statement made jointly by commerce and industry in respect of the detention of trade union leaders. On another level, there is a growing involvement in in-house social responsibility programmes which have brought about vast improvements in employee benefits – pensions, medical aid and so on. Companies are also more involved with their immediate communities in such issues as education and training, housing, small business development. And, of course, the business community is also involved increasingly in the overall processes of change and transformation of our society.

**Has this development come too late?**

I don't believe it is possible for us to judge whether this is too late. It certainly came very late. My own view is that our society still contains an enormous reservoir of goodwill. There is a willingness to work on an evolutionary, rather than a revolutionary, process of

change.' That is not an opinion. It is a conviction based on evidence and it's very important for us to exploit and develop the opportunities that this groundswell offers. I am certainly not one of the clan that believes this is too little, too late.

#### **Is the Urban Foundation receiving sufficient support from business?**

You will always find companies that do not join in an endeavour of this kind. If you look at the list of contributors to the Foundation you will be able to identify the non-contributors quite easily. Nevertheless, the Foundation now has over 800 corporations contributing. So we have harnessed a very considerable body of support. AECI has been one of the exceptionally large contributors. Rounded off, they have contributed since 1977 just about R4m. What I am particularly pleased about in their involvement -- and, of course, this applies to many other major corporations -- is that there is no attempt on their part to get what I can only call narrow-focused benefits. There has been a genuine contribution to our reform programmes. If you take, for example, the whole of the urbanisation issue, they have made substantial contributions to the work that has been done in what has become one of the most significant and tangible results of private sector involvement. The restoration of full property rights to black South Africans and the incomplete, but nevertheless important, restoration of citizenship are the most important recent changes. I don't want to make exaggerated claims about our contribution but I make bold to say that influx control would not have been abolished if it had not been for the private sector's role. Working with corporations and companies has been a most enriching experience. AECI's chief executive, Mike Sander, has just joined the board of governors of the Urban Foundation. Like so many of the businessmen with whom I work, I identify him as a deeply concerned South African who has a very real commitment to meaningful involvement in the process of change. The real benefit of their involvement with us is that they obtain a greater understanding of the realities of the situation. Through the Foundation, they come into contact with black leadership. They come face to face with issues. We take them into the townships and they get involved in our programmes in a real way. You actually conscientise the leadership and the leadership in turn conscientises their

management. And in that way you create a much greater understanding, a greater caring and more compassionate community.

#### **Do you feel government is sufficiently in contact with black leadership?**

I personally don't know to what extent government leaders across the board have availed themselves of the opportunities that exist. I certainly know that those with responsibility in the areas most pertinent to the process of change have certainly made very real attempts to develop relationships. Men like Gerrit Viljoen (Minister of Education and Development Aid), and his deputy, Sam de Beer, have been astute -- and I cite them because I have been in close contact with them -- in developing relationships and starting a real process towards mutual understanding. But generally speaking, one has serious doubts sometimes about government's understanding of what negotiation really means. There is a great deal of confusion between discussion and negotiation. Another problem is that with the assault on the legitimacy of government, it is becoming increasingly problematic for black leadership to be seen to be in the process of discussion, consultation and negotiation with government. We have a logjam that has to be broken one way or another.

#### **Can it be broken?**

I don't believe the problem is incapable of resolution. Who would have thought, even a year ago, that influx control would be abolished? Breaking logjams is a complex issue and, of course, there is a very real concern about whether the State of Emergency declared on June 12 will dissipate government's commitment to reform. One hopes that the State of Emergency will not simply amount to an attempt to permanently buttress the white fortress. It would certainly be very strongly resisted by the overwhelming majority of business leadership in this country.

**Many companies are making major efforts to promote blacks to management levels, but are continually frustrated by the fact that staff with better opportunities are prevented by such laws as the Group Areas Act from improving their residential position and all that flows from that. Is the Urban Foundation assisting business to cope with this problem?**

**I**t is one of the most devastating indictments of government that we have been unable to break through in this area. We are subjecting people to an artificial and unacceptable environment. You cannot have sound business practises in an unacceptable political environment. Yes, we have been attempting to assist, so far without any success. One of the issues which is going to face business is the maintenance of racially segregated residential areas. The moral dilemma is an obvious one. You have identified people in your work force who are capable of making contributions at the highest level of decision-making and, yet, you deny them the right of upward mobility in the social system and you continue to lock them into residential environments which are inappropriate.

**Do you think business would actually defy government on such an issue?**

I would hope that government would have an understanding of the unacceptability and the immorality of the present situation and that it would redress it rapidly. If it fails to do so, there will be developments – the types of things that are already taking place in many residential areas – which could lead to very serious confrontation between business and government. Our commitment is based firmly on the free enterprise system. I cannot see how we, as the representatives of genuine free enterprise in South Africa, can support a system which denies the fundamental principle of freedom of choice. I simply will not accept that our problems can be resolved on solutions based on race.

**Government, however, still seems to be strongly committed to the group concept.**

If you examine events at the National Party's federal congress, one certainly doesn't see signs of the abandonment of this principle.

**What other laws does business find unacceptable?**

Legislation which is often overlooked by people, but which is of fundamental importance, is the Land Act and the whole question of access by blacks to agricultural opportunities. These issues impact on the business environment because migration to the cities, caused by pressure on the land, is taking place at a pace which is becoming difficult to cope with. Therefore, it is as important to deal with rural development problems as it is to deal

with urban development problems. To that extent, business has a very real interest, and the provisions of the Land Act are something which cry out for radical review.

**Are you satisfied that government is properly addressing the issue of providing more land for blacks in urban areas now that it has abolished influx control?**

I think government understands that problem. If you study its policy outlined in its White Paper, it is quite clear that they have identified that as a critical area. Evidence is to be found in the recent allocation of land on the Witwatersrand for black development. While the very principle of racial zoning is still enshrined in this proposal – and this is fundamentally unacceptable – the fact of making a large tract of land available closer to the city for this purpose must be recognised as an advance. I think government understands that it cannot abolish influx control without making available additional urban land. Government has also allocated much more money for housing and this encourages me enormously. This is something for which we have pleaded for years because I believe it can dramatically change the lives of people. Have you ever thought to yourself, as we sit here in this modern city, that the average occupancy of a two-bedroomed house is between 11 and 12 persons? How can you expect anything other than instability and disaffection if you oblige people to live in conditions like that? How would our children have grown up? What would be their vision of the future? Just look at Crossroads? It is the most devastating indictment of apartheid. We did not build a single house for blacks in the Western Cape for 10 years. What did we expect we would get? Stability?

**What else should business be doing?**

There is a need for clearly-stated policies to govern investments in social responsibility. It is a very important part of a company budget and companies should seek advice on how it should be structured. I would also plead that corporations should not use social responsibility programmes for public relations campaigns. Certainly, you can have a social responsibility programme and at the same time advance the corporate image. I have no objection to that at all. What is objectionable is to have as primary consideration the requirements of your public relations efforts. But I also think that, generally, the allocation of re-

sources for social responsibility programmes is far too small if measured as a percentage of profits. I urge corporations to make a realistic assessment of the impact social responsibility programmes can make towards stabilising our society, and then allocate an appropriate proportion of their profits to that objective in a properly structured manner. We have also tried to encourage government to allow tax deductions on investments in social responsibility programmes. It's always been unacceptable to me that you can, for example, claim advertising as a tax deductible expense, but you can't do the same when you invest money for the social advancement of people. Certain allowances have been made for investment in education, but it must be much broader, particularly in the area of housing.

Has the business community's more forth-right approach strained its relationships with government?

It may have affected the relationship of individuals in the business community. Of course, there would be problems if government does not pursue reform with real commitment and at an increasing pace. That will undoubtedly create tensions and one will have to see what the months ahead hold. But government is not monolithic and certainly, as far as I am concerned, I have found an enormous change among the leadership of the civil service. That is one of the most encouraging things.

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CSO: 3400/489

## WESTERN CAPE PROPERTY BEING BOUGHT BY FOREIGN INVESTORS

Cape Town THE ARGUS in English 5 Mar 87 p 1

[Text] Millions of rands are pouring into South Africa as an increasing number of foreign investors take advantage of the weak financial rand to buy property, listed securities and businesses.

In the Western Cape, historic farms are proving the big attraction and several near Paarl and Stellenbosch have been sold to foreign investors for R1-million and more.

These include Wilde Paardejacht in the Klein Drakenstein area, sold for R1-million to Mr Richard West, a Canadian living in Britain, and Dennegeur, which went to a Swiss buyer for R900 000.

Two years ago Mr Jannie Momberg, athletics administrator and campaign manager for Dr Denis Worrall, sold his historic Neethlingshof farm to German financier Mr Hans-Joachim Schreiber for about R8-million.

### Attractive

Estate agents calculate that, with foreign buyers able to put up at least half the purchase price in financial rands, a R1-million property would cost about \$320 000.

"The terms are very attractive because, having bought in at the financial rand rate, they are able to take out their profits in commercial rands," said

"These are very attractive terms to any investor."

Mr Johan Louw, managing

director of Caprop, a Paarl estate agency, said South Africa was considered to be a bargain situation and his company had "a couple" of transactions pending for overseas buyers.

Buyers did not appear to be interested in the political situation, he said.

### Job creation

"We have had German purchasers and several from Britain buying property in the R3-million range, but not many Americans showing interest," said Mr Gabriel le Roux, a partner in a Stellenbosch estate agency.

"If the buyer can show that he intends setting up some kind of labour intensive or job creation project he can negotiate for up to 100 percent of the purchase price to be in financial rands."

Commercial bank sources said it was not only farms that were attracting interest, but any business venture.

"They are not looking at capital growth but at return on their investment," said a spokesman for Boland Bank in Paarl.

"Considering the depressed property market and favourable exchange rates they are buying for nothing and the income generated on a good buy is phenomenal."

LESOTHO HIGHLANDS WATER PROJECTS WORK TO START

Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English 23 Mar 87 p 1

[Article by Gerald Reilly]

[Text]

PRETORIA — Work on the first stage of the vast R5bn Lesotho Highlands water project will start this year with the construction of the basic infrastructure, Department of Water Affairs managing engineer TPC van Robbroeck said at the weekend.

An amount of R50m had been raised from the World Bank and the EC's European Development Fund for this purpose.

Another R50m would be raised on the local capital market by the Transcaldeon Tunnel Authority.

Van Robbroeck said last month that consultants had been appointed to design the basic infrastructure.

More than R100m would be spent on ac-

cess roads alone and work on them would start before the end of the year.

Other consultants would be appointed to design one of the dams, the water transfer tunnel and the hydro power station.

Negotiations were also in progress for the appointment of technical assistance contract engineers to assist the Lesotho authorities with the management of the project.

Van Robbroeck said the project should begin operating in 1995.

Lesotho's earnings when it is in full operation would amount to an estimated R120m a year. It would take 30 years for the scheme to be fully completed.

The final scheme would consist of six major dams, 240km of tunnels, a 276mw hydro-electric power station, two major pumping stations, 288km of new access roads, and 263km of upgraded existing roads.

Estimated investment cost — at constant July 1985 prices excluding interest during construction — was R4 059m.

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CSO: 3400/489

SOUTH AFRICA

UNEMPLOYMENT IN PORT ELIZABETH REACHING 'ALARMING PROPORTIONS'

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 23 Mar 87 p 13

[Text]

PORt ELIZABETH.— Unemployment in Port Elizabeth was reaching alarming proportions, it was reported yesterday.

The birth-rate among Blacks in the city was dropping and the Black woman was playing a far more important role as the bread-winner, the report said quoting some of the findings of a survey conducted by Unisa's Bureau for Market Research among urban Blacks in Port Elizabeth in 1985.

The survey showed that 46 percent of the male members of households between the ages of 20 and 64 were economically inactive in 1985.

The high unemployment figure was attri-

buted largely to the economic recession.

The Eastern Cape has been particularly hard-hit by the drop in business activity.

Another finding of considerable significance was the average age of members of the Black population, the report said.

The proportionate reduction in the number of children under the age of four supported the finding that the birth-rate was declining.

The survey also showed that the number of households with a woman at the head was increasing.

In 1985, 29 percent of households had women at the head, compared with 18 percent in 1970. — Sapa.

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CSO: 3400/380

SOUTH AFRICA

REAL GDP RISES MARGINALLY DUE TO IMPROVED AGRICULTURE

Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English 25 Mar 87 p 2

[Article by Gerald Reilly]

[Text]

PRETORIA — The country's real gross domestic product (GDP) increased by a marginal 0,5% last year, according to the first comprehensive estimate made by Central Statistical Services (CSS).

CSS points out this is lower than recent forecasts and estimates from other sources.

However, it stresses, only improved agricultural conditions made a positive growth rate possible.

Real production in the agricultural sector rose by 16,1% last year, whereas real production in the non-agricultural sector declined by 0,5%.

CSS says that following the poor economic performance in 1985, when real GDP declined by 1,1%, the relatively serious contraction in the first quarter of last year pointed to an unsatisfactory growth rate for 1986.

However, it says, although growth did not come up to expectations, there was definite proof that the economy has moved into an upwards phase since the low in the first quarter of last year.

Seasonally adjusted total real GDP declined by 4,8% at an annual rate in January to March last year.

After this it increased by 6,1% in the second quarter, 3,4% in the third quarter and 4,4% in the last quarter.

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CSO: 3400/488

## SOUTH AFRICA

### HUGE FARMERS DEBT DUE TO EXTRAVAGANCE

Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English 25 Mar 87 p 3

[Article by Mick Collins]

[Text]

**COLLECTIVE** debt incurred by the farming sector at the end of 1986 soared to R12bn from a low of R3.8bn at the end of 1980.

Johannesburg-based analysts Davis Borkum Hare report that by the end of 1985 the debt had increased to more than R11bn and at the end of 1986 was probably in excess of R12bn.

It said: "Of the total debt of R11,1bn at the end of 1985, more than half — about R5,6bn — had been extended by the Land Bank, co-operatives and the Department of Agriculture. Accordingly, the taxpayers could end up bearing a major portion of the debt."

The past two seasons had seen some recovery in the net income of farmers, but they were still below the levels of 1980-81.

Farmers' gross incomes for the year ended June 30, 1986, increased by 12% to R9.9bn. Net income rose by 15% to R2.1bn.

The report said: "The deteriorating terms of trade for the farming sector as a whole helps explain the poor net income levels."

The report said the price for farming inputs had increased at a

faster rate than producer prices for farming products.

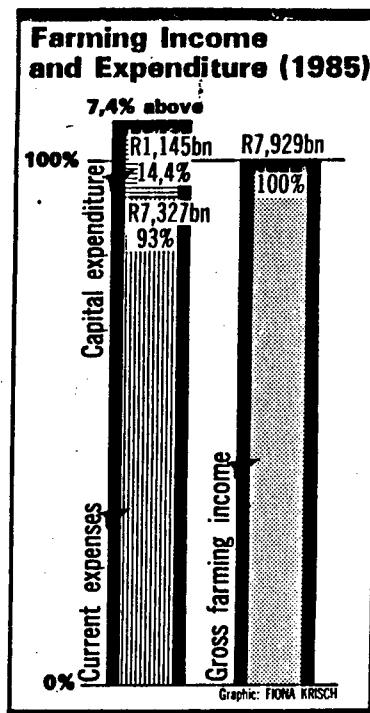
It said: "Accordingly, the terms of trade have deteriorated and the repeated cry by agricultural bodies for control of input prices is easy to understand."

Results of a sample survey of 7 000 farmers published by *Effective Farming* suggested the average farmer spent about 7% more than he earned in 1985.

"When it is considered expenses — which exclude family expenses — absorbed all but R457m of recorded gross income, it is surprising how much farmers were prepared to spend on new equipment (R724m) and new buildings, dams and fences (R421m) (see graph).

"Transvaal farmers used almost 99% of their income to cover expenses. Despite this — which left only R31m — they spent R226m on new equipment and R138m on new buildings and works."

The survey said the capital expenditure would not all have been incurred by loss-making farmers but it still looked as though there was an inordinate amount of extravagance.



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CSO: 3400/488

PROPERTY MARKET GETS BOOST FROM NEW SANCTIONS-BUSTING GROUPS

Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in Engl . . 24 Mar 87 p 10

[Text]

**THE** property market is now definitely on the up-and-up, especially in the commercial sector.

One highly significant indicator is the return — as the purchaser of good quality property — of the sophisticated private investor.

Through a quirk of politics, the commercial property market has received a boost from a surprising quarter — the demand for office space by companies setting up new corporate structures to beat sanctions.

J H Isaacs & Company joint MD Erroll Friedmann (which manages Central City Property Fund and Capital Property Fund through Property Fund Managers) says the commercial sector is also reflecting additional factors — a perceived general improvement in the state of the economy and business confidence; a substantially increased off-take of space by government and other official bodies; and the anticipation of benefits flowing from a breakdown of apartheid restrictions in towns and cities.

As recently as September 1985, all major centres — Johannesburg, Cape Town, Pretoria, and Durban — still had masses of quality accommodation vacant. Subsequent growth in demand has been so dramatic there is now little quality space available.

Friedmann expects equilibrium between supply and demand for commercial premises will be attained by the end of 1987 — earlier than expected.

Office rentals are already reflecting changed mar-

ket conditions. Prime office rentals in the four main cities are already up by 10% to 25%, depending on locality. Against levels of about R12m<sup>2</sup> in the current quarter, expected levels for the second half of 1987 are between R15m<sup>2</sup> and R18m<sup>2</sup>.

What of the other major property sectors — retailing, industrial and residential?

According to Friedmann, there are encouraging signs from the retail market. Major chains with are reporting improved turnover ahead of the inflation rate. But smaller retailers still report generally less favourable trading conditions.

Only the Durban area as yet reports a need for major new decentralised shopping centres.

The glut of industrial and warehouse space still prevails. Rentals, however, remain low — at between R3m<sup>2</sup> to R4m<sup>2</sup>. But there are expectations the market could see R4,50m<sup>2</sup>-R6m<sup>2</sup> by year-end.

Although flat rentals have shown little growth over the last 12 months, the last quarter has seen a take-up improvement. Vacancies — over the range from bachelor through to three-bedroomed flats — are down to 6% in Johannesburg, compared with about 8% in the previous quarter.

Residential sales — with the exception of the Cape — have improved, although prices are still lower than a year ago. Agents on the Reef, in Pretoria and Durban have reported higher turnovers with prices about 20% up, compared with the previous quarter.

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CSO: 3400/489

SOUTH AFRICA

GRANITE PRODUCING COMPANY ASSURES HIGH DEMAND

Johanneburg THE STAR in English 25 Mar 87 p 19

[Article by Teigue Payne]

**[Text]** Consolidated Granite, formerly Enyati Resources, has assured demand for its products - black granite, and pink/grey granite - according to the company's transmuted listing statement.

The Marlin group of companies, which is being reversed into former oil and gas company Enyati, has become the world's largest granite producer.

The directors say that dimensional granite blocks have traditionally been used for memorials and in the construction industry. Granite is now also being used in the manufacture of bases for computer, electronic and laboratory equipment, where its extreme stability and imperviousness to changes in temperature

and atmospheric conditions are ideal.

It is now possible to produce granite bases or tables with extremely accurate surface tolerances measured in microns.

The directors say world demand for black granite has been strong for many years, and the company is expanding black granite production after a two-year quarry development programme.

Sanctions and exchange rates excepted, Cogran's after-tax earnings in the year ending June should be R11.8 million, or 17c per share, say the directors. Policy will be to distribute 40 to 55 percent of profits, and the directors expect to declare a dividend of at least 7c in September for the year ending June.

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CSO: 3400/380

SOUTH AFRICA

BRIEFS

GROSS FARMING INCOME RISES--Gross farming income last year amounted to R11 308m, about 17 percent more than in 1985, according to direct rate agricultural economic trends. The figures show a spectacular rise in income from maize farming--up by 95 percent to R1 193m. The overall increase was due mainly to increased income from field crops and horticulture. The combined Producer Price Index for farm products increased by 7 percent during the year. Income from field crops increased by 33 percent to R4 294m from R3 228m in 1985. Producer prices of field crops rose by about 6 percent. Income from wheat increased from R639m to R720m, and from sugar cane from R683m to R756m. Gross income from animal production was 8 percent higher last year and stood at R4 938m. Income from wool is estimated at R393m and mohair R118m, compared with R178m in 1985. Beef farmers earned R1 332m from slaughterings of cattle and calves--an increase of 13 percent. Producer prices of beef increased by 21 percent. Income from sheep slaughtering was R497m. [Text] [Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English 27 Mar 87 p 1] /9317

U.S. INSURER BUY-OUT--American International has sold its SA subsidiary, American International Insurance, a medium-sized short-term insurer. The buyer, Johannesburg Insurance Holdings, which is owned by a consortium led by Rand Merchant Bank, plans to change the name of its newly acquired subsidiary to AI Insurance. While the value of the transaction could not be determined last night, Rodney Schneeberger, CE of the SA Insurance Association, said it looked like a good deal from the buyer's point of view. Schneeberger said that AI Insurance had operated in SA for many years under the control of its US parent and was financially sound. "The transaction follows the general pattern of US companies transferring their holdings in South Africa to SA companies," he said. [Text] [Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English 27 Mar 87 p 3] /9317

SANCTIONS HIT NATAL COAL MINE--International sanctions on coal exports from SA have hit a Natal coal mine. Mine management at Welgedacht, near Utrecht, has cut production and about 530 jobs have been lost as a result. "This step has been taken solely in an effort to secure the long-term future and stability of the company in the face of the international sanctions campaign," a spokesman said. "Some of the affected workers are already over retirement age while others are being offered early and voluntary retirement." [Text] [Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English 23 Mar 87 p 1] /9317

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